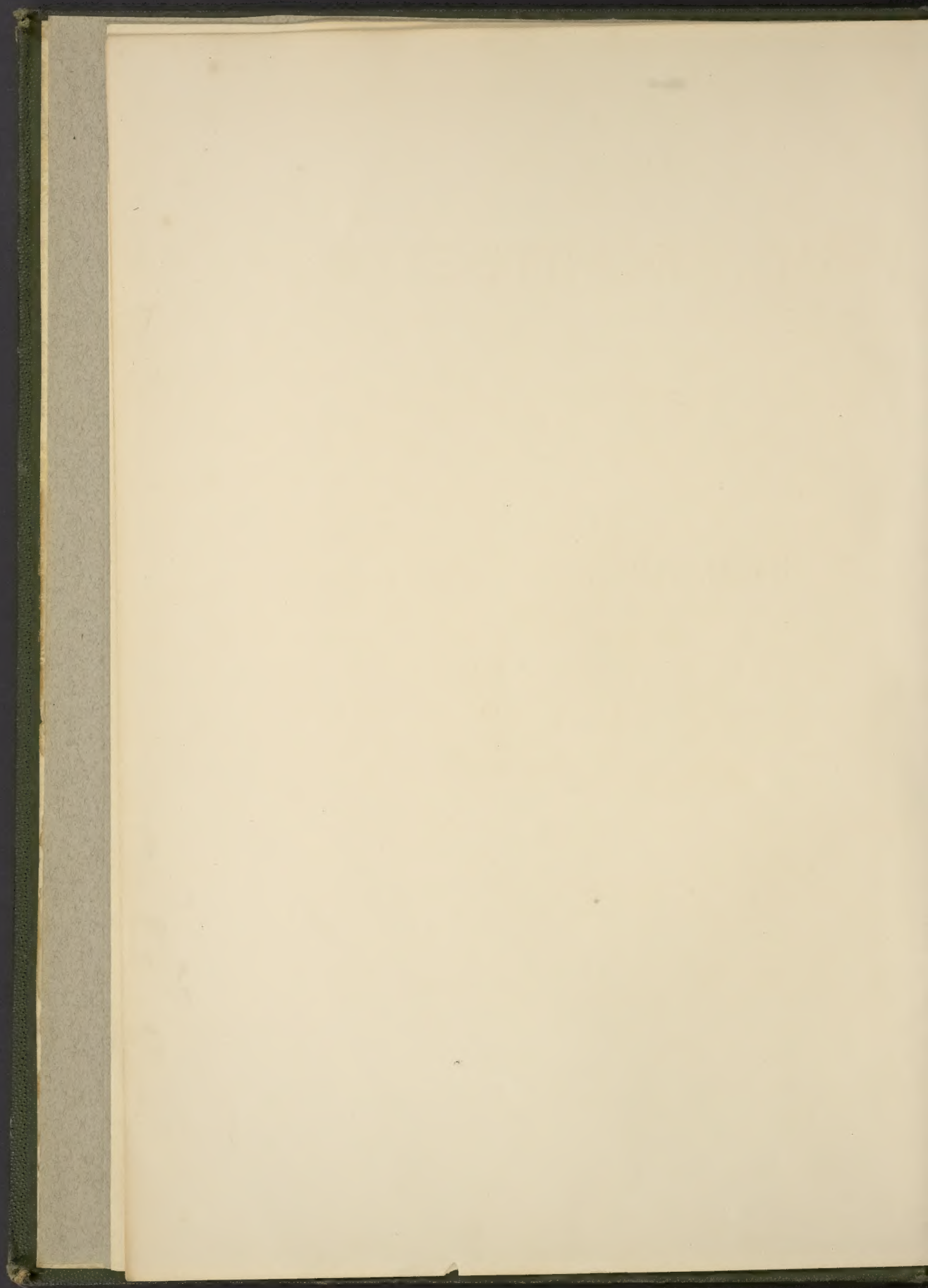


NOTES ON
IRISH ARCHITECTURE.



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IRISH ARCHITECTURE.

BY

EDWIN, THIRD EARL OF DUNRAVEN.

EDITED BY MARGARET STOKES.



ANCIENT BELLS OF IRELAND.

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PART III.—BELFRIES.

CLOICTECH AENTREIBH.

BELFRY OF ANTRIM.

PLATES LXVI. AND LXVII.



HIS noble tower, commonly called *the Steeple*, stands half a mile north of the town of Antrim, in the centre of the parish of that name, in the barony of Upper Toome, and county of Antrim. It measures 92 ft. in height, 50 ft. 2 in. in circumference, 9 ft. in diameter at the base inside, while the walls are 3 ft. in thickness. There are two doorways and seven windows in the tower.

It is very rudely built, chiefly of basalt or trap, the rock of the country, the joints are wide, and the interstices are filled with small spawls and yellowish mortar. The walling is of rude rubble masonry, the lower stones are apparently field stones, the upper appear to have been quarried, and are of common size. The cut stone used in the original conical cap and in the present door is pitchstone porphyry. Two fissures occur above the height of the door in the walls of the tower, owing apparently to the imperfect bonding of the stones.

There is an artificial mound round the base of this tower, which is about 3 ft. high, and upon it the first plinth course is just visible. I dug, and found a second course, lying against which were human bones, apparently in their original position. The second plinth is about 1 ft. 6 in. below the first, and then there are projecting stones which probably formed the foundation. A portion of the original stone which crowned the conical top is still preserved. There is a square hole in the centre, into which a small wedge-shaped stone fitted, probably a cross. The apertures are all square-headed; even

the stones in them are not rounded. The doorway measures 4 ft. 8 in. in height, 1 ft. 11 in. wide at the base and 1 ft. 9 in. at the top. The jambs incline an inch and a half. They are 2 ft. 11 in. thick, a beam of oak is placed between the inner and outer lintel across the door; this doorway is constructed of large blocks of coarse-grained basalt, found in the neighbourhood, many of the stones extending the entire thickness of the wall. The jambs are of better stones than are found in the other apertures. The lintel of the door is rounded. The cill of the door is 3 ft. 8 in. in thickness. Immediately over the lintel there is a large stone, on which is sculptured in rilievo a pierced cross within a circle (see Plate LXVI.) The stone which forms the cill of the door is 3 ft. 8 in. long, and 1 ft. 4 in. high. The height of this aperture from the plinth course is 7 ft. 6 in. When viewed from the interior, it would appear that it was an insertion. It does not fit into the wall on each side, and the masonry looks different above the lintel. There is a recess which may have been meant to hold the heavy frame of a wooden door. Certainly there are no exterior marks of its being an insertion. There is a second doorway about 14 ft. higher, which is quite as rude as the apertures above. The cill of this doorway projects



into the tower in a curved form (see fig. *δ*). The first door faces to the north, and the second N.N.E. All the windows are square-headed, rude, broad, and ugly, with jambs nearly vertical. The upper windows are narrower, and their sides incline rather more than those of the lower. On the south side there is a window half-way to the top of the tower, and on the west side there is one two-thirds of the way up. This must have lighted the third storey above the door. Then another south window lights the fourth storey. Above this there are the four windows near the roof, facing the four cardinal points.

This is the only tower I have ever seen without any remains of a church in its neighbourhood. On this circumstance Dr. Reeves remarks: "This monument of antiquity, to a stranger would appear, from the smoothness of the sward that surrounds it, and the total absence of any kindred building, to have been a solitary erection; but the testimony of those who removed the foundations of adjacent walls, and who cleared away vast quantities of human remains from the surrounding space, and especially of the mason, who about twenty years ago repaired the top of the tower, and built into it a sculptured architrave of freestone which he found among the ruins, goes to prove that this tower, like all its fellows, has had in its day a church beside it."

HISTORICAL NOTES ON ANTRIM.—Antrim, originally named Oentreb, *i.e.* "One house," was connected at an early period with the church of Bangor, in the county of Down. St. Comgall, who founded Bangor in the year 552, is represented as predicting,





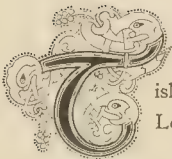
"It will be true, by permission of the King of kings, that my bones shall be removed without defect from beloved Bennchor to Entrobh," and in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the date 822, we read of the fulfilment of this prophecy: when the Oratory of Bangor was destroyed by the Danes, "the reliques of Comgall were shaken from the shrine in which they were," and brought to Entrobh. Two ecclesiastics from Antrim became abbots of Bangor, as we read in the same annals, A.D. 612, Fintan of Oentreib, abbot of Bangor, died; and A.D. 722, St. Flann of Aentrebh, abbot of Bangor, died. In St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair, of Bangor, mention is made of his visiting a certain rich man, who sent for his aid in sickness, "in civitate cui nomen *Oentreb*." The name subsequently assumed the forms of *Entroia*, *Antroye*, *Entroya*, but when it became Antrim, which more fittingly represents Aondruim (now Nendrum of Strangford), it wandered very far from etymological correctness. The name Oentreib occurs also in the Annotations on the Felire of Aengus, at July 31.

At the dates 877 and 1096, we read of the death of two ecclesiastics belonging to this church, Muredach, son of Cormac, and Fland Ua Muirechan. In the year 1018 it was spoiled by Fermanach, and it was burned in 1147. At the dissolution of religious houses, the rectory was found to be appropriated to the Abbey of Woodburn, near Carrickfergus.¹

CLOICTHECH INNSE CELTRA.

BELFRY OF INISCALTRA, COUNTY OF CLARE.

PLATE LXVIII.



THIS beautiful tower stands south-west of St. Caimin's Church, on the island of Iniscaltra, otherwise Holy Island, situated in the barony of Leitrim, and on the confines of the counties of Clare and Galway.

The roof of this tower is gone, and the present height of the building is but 80 ft. At one time it must have been upwards of a hundred feet high, for Dr. Petrie remarks that to form an estimate of its size when perfect we must add 10 ft. or

¹ See Reeves' "Eccl. Antiq." pp. 63, 64, 277, 278. Archdall's notice of the place is full of errors, as he refers to it many entries which properly belong to Nendrum, in the county of Down. Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. iii. p. 15. No. xv. p. 132.

12 ft. for the upper story, which is now wanting, 15 ft. for its conical roof, and a few feet for a portion concealed at its base. (See *Eccl. Arch.* vol. i. p. 363.) The tower is 46 ft. in circumference, 7 ft. 10 in. in diameter inside, and the wall is 3 ft. 5 in. thick. It is built of irregular courses, and in the lower part the stones are very large; one measures 5 ft. in length by 1 ft. 6 in. in breadth, and another 4 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in. The masonry is of this massive character to a height of 5 ft. from the plinth, above which the stones are smaller and dressed roughly to the curve. The tower rises from a slightly projecting plinth course. There are four offsets in the interior; the lower has six projecting stones about 1 ft. 6 in. long, and a large stone rests across two of them.



CHURCH AND BELFRY OF INISCALTRA.

The doorway is 10 ft. 7 in. above the level of the ground, it faces E.N.E., and measures 5 ft. 3 in. high, and 2 ft. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 11 in. at the top. The cill is composed of a large piece of limestone. The whole doorway is composed of the same material punched. At a considerable height above the doorway there is a square-headed window of cut stone. The south and west windows are also of the same form. There is a fine window facing the north, which is also square inside, but triangular-headed outside. This is formed of cut or well-hammered stone.

This tower is held by tradition to have been built by St. Senanus, and there is a passage in a poem by Michael O'Brannan, "On the River Shannon," written in the year 1791, in which he ascribes the same origin to this tower as to those of Inis Cloran on Lough Ree, and of Inis Cathai, or Scatterry Island, near the mouth of the Shannon; tradition also affirms that a subterranean passage for communication with the latter once existed. (*Ord. Survey Letters.*) It is probable that this tower was built as belfry to the



church erected by King Brian Borumha, in the beginning of the eleventh century. The history of the ancient church to which this belfry belonged, will be noticed in the next part of this work. No entry regarding the tower itself has hitherto been found in the "Annals of the Four Masters," or other chronicles of Ireland.



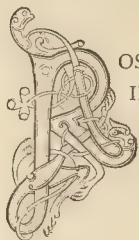
DOORWAY OF BELFRY, INISCALTRA.

Dr. O'Donovan, writing in the year 1838, when engaged on the Ordnance Survey, states that he was informed by an old man who lived on the shore of Lough Derg opposite the island, that he saw an iron door in the entrance to this tower. The traces of its fastenings were then still visible to the left, and those of the bolt to the right; also a piece of iron said to be part of a holdfast inserted in a stone on the left. This was supposed to have been fixed in the stone at the time of the erection of the tower, and similar contemporary iron fittings are still to be seen in the belfries of St. Canice and Fertagh in the county of Kilkenny. The same old man remembered having seen three of the floors perfect in the lower storey.

CLOICTHECH RUIS CRÉ.

BELFRY OF ROSCREA, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

PLATE LXIX.



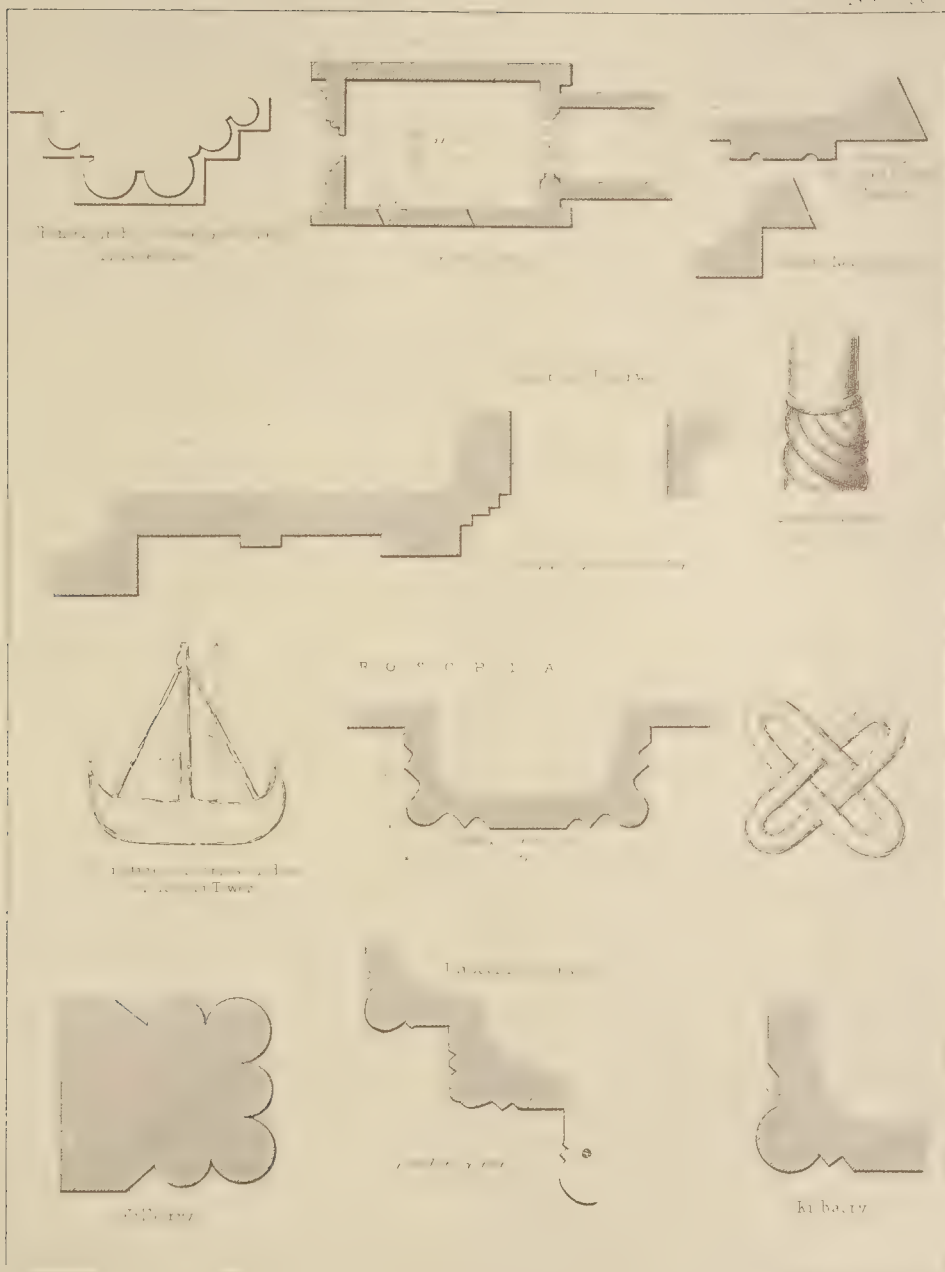
OSCREA Tower is situated in the parish of the same name, in the barony of Ikerrin, and county of Tipperary. It stands 23 ft. to the right of the west gable of the ancient Abbey of Roscrea. The roof of the building has fallen, so that its present height does not exceed 80 ft. It is 50 ft. in circumference, and 8 ft. 3 in. in diameter, and the wall is 4 ft. in thickness.

This tower is built of sandstone, of moderate size, in irregular courses, worked roughly to a curve. Wilkinson observes that these courses are spirally shaped, and the stones are peculiarly notched one into another. The interior of the wall, below the door level, is of very irregularly worked masonry, and evidently intended to be filled up to the door level. It has a double plinth.



BELFRY AND WEST FRONT OF ST. CRONAN'S CHURCH, ROSCREA.

The doorway is 9 ft. 9 in. from the ground, the level of which in one part, however, has been raised 2 ft. higher than it was originally. This aperture is on the east side of the building, and faces the church. Its dimensions are 5 ft. 3 in. in height, and 2 ft. 1 in. at the base, and 2 ft. at the springing of the arch. It is round-arched, and the arch is formed out of three stones, most of which extend the full thickness of the wall, this being 4 ft. in depth.





There are contrivances for double doors in this entrance, which have been accurately described by Dr. Petrie (see *Eccl. Arch.* p. 369). These afford valuable evidence that the towers have been at some period employed as places of defence or safety, the second door being evidently one method resorted to, to prevent forcible entry. Also it would appear that at some periods the additional defence was removed, as not being required except in troublous times.

There is another aperture, triangular-headed, either a doorway or window, on the north-east side, about 25 ft. above the level of the plinth, which is on a level with the average surface of the pond close by. It is 4 ft. 11 in. high to the springing of the arch, and 5 ft. 3 in. to the apex of the triangle, 2 ft. 1 in. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 10 in. at the top of the jambs. This aperture is arched inside, and 4 ft. 4 in. high, and 3 ft. 9 in. in depth.

On one of the inner stones on the side of this doorway a knot is incised. On the opposite side a ship is carved in relief about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep. It is about 1 ft. 1 in. long, and is raised above the surface of the entire jamb of the door, and therefore original. I look upon it as very remarkable indeed. The stone on which it is carved is on the same level or plane as all the others, and it was clearly cotemporaneous with the tower. [Lord Dunraven received the following interesting letter from Dr. John Stuart, of Edinburgh, to whom he had mentioned his discovery of this ship.]

"GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE,
Edinburgh, 13th August, 1868.

"DEAR LORD DUNRAVEN,

"I have just received your kind note, and I need hardly say that it always gives me pleasure to hear from your lordship.

"Your discovery of the ship sculptured in a round tower is of great interest. The last writer on the subject (who seems to disclaim good Dr. Petrie's exhaustive learning) will be sure to describe your ship as Noah's ark. He has already got a glimpse of the roof of it, but what will he say when he gets the vessel fully rigged?

"The Galley of the Isles, which appears on the late Argyllshire crosses, appears to be used heraldically, and the monuments on which it is found are all about A. D. 1500, a few before, and a few later. I enclose two of the prevailing type.

"On one of our Pictish crosses we have a boat with several figures of men in it. It is on St. Orland's stone, a saint of whom I can hear nothing in the Calendars or Acta, and, on digging about it, we got five (short) stone cists, the human figures in the boat on the stone being also five. I send you a tracing of it. This is an eighth-century boat, and the accompanying figure of a harper is not later.

"Some of the canoe boats in the Dowalton Crannogs, in Galloway, had all the arrangements of a modern boat; outriggers, seats, &c., so that modern art was anticipated in many ways."

Mr. William Hacket, of Cork, writing to Dr. Petrie in the year 1842, observes: "There were corbels in the wall, noticed by Mr. Ed. Wall when he visited this belfry, but they did not support the floors, and are set in such irregular form and shape, and so numerous, that I cannot form an idea of their use. I cannot find carving on them, although the forms of some resemble a face. They were not connected with the floors, which were supported on offsets." Such corbels are common to most of the towers.

On the west side, about 37 ft. from the ground, there is a quadrangular window 27 ft. high by 1 ft. wide at the base ; it has inclined jambs. There is another small square-headed window, with inclined jambs, on the north side. Each of these apertures was placed so as to light a separate story. The floors rested on projecting stones in the inside of the wall. Parts of two floors of timber still remained in the year 1840, when visited by Mr.



WEST FRONT OF ST. CRONAN'S CHURCH, ROSCREA.

O'Keefe, then engaged on the Ordnance Survey, and he was then informed by the sexton of the church of Roscrea, that he remembered having seen all the floors of the different stories in good preservation, and that they were inhabited so late as 1815.


The following entry regarding the tower occurs in the "*Chronicon Scotorum*" at the date 1131:—"Lightning knocked off the head of the steeple of Cluan-muc-nois, and pierced the steeple of Ros-cre." And the same event is recorded by the Four Masters at the date 1135.

The church to which this belfry belonged will be noticed hereafter in this work.

CLOICTEACH CHAISIL.

BELFRY OF CASHEL.

PLATE LXX.

ASHEL is situated in the barony of Middlethird, and county of Tipperary. The name is derived from *caiseal*, which signifies a stone fort. The group of ruins to the north-east of which this belfry stands has been thus beautifully described by the late Mr. Jewitt, in an essay on the remains at Cashel :—"1

"From the midst of a fertile plain in the southern part of the county of Tipperary rises abruptly the immense mass of limestone known as the Rock of Cashel, and which,



DOORWAY OF THE BELFRY OF CASHEL.

crowned as it is by lofty and venerable ruins, forms a conspicuous landmark to the surrounding country for many miles.

"On a nearer approach, it increases in grandeur and interest. The town lies at its foot, and the small whitewashed hovels which are nestled under it serve to give interest and contrast to the scene. The rock is inaccessible on all sides except the south,

¹ See "Gentleman's Magazine," New Series, vol. xvii. part ii. page 404.

where it is defended by a gateway. On entering within this gateway, and while standing on the greensward at the west end of the building, it is impossible to describe the feelings which crowd upon the imagination; the grey, hoar, and solemn and melancholy-looking ruins seem in their mute eloquence like spirits of the past standing in the present, silent and yet speaking. The ruined cathedral, the shattered castle, and the weather-beaten cross, all raised thoughts which it is not possible to express; and when all these are seen by the light of the setting sun, shining from behind clouds over the distant Galtese, the effect is beyond anything that can be conceived."

The round tower is situated to the north of the ancient church. It is 80 ft. in height, and 50 ft. in circumference, while the wall is 4 ft. thick. Mr. Jewitt observes that the masonry is different from that of Cormac's chapel, and he considers it to be of earlier date.



WINDOW IN UPPER STORY OF CASHEL BELFRY.

It is built of the sandstone of the locality, although there are two layers or bands of limestone. The stones, which are of a very hard quality, are in courses, varying in thickness from 6 to 10 in., and are roughly worked to the curve. There are no large ones among them. They vary in length from 6 in. to 2 ft. The upper work of the tower is better than the lower. The sandstone is much more regular than the limestone, but still not in regular square pieces like those of Cormac's chapel; and many of the joints in the sandstone are sloping instead of vertical. The masonry is rather wide-jointed than fine. There is no thickness of mortar, and none of it projects as at Caen. The masonry altogether is better than that of Bishop Gundulph's tower at Malling, and quite as good as that of the White Tower in London. This tower is divided into five stories, with holes for joists. It retains its original conical stone roof, which rises from a projecting string-course. The



doorway is 12 ft. or 13 ft. above the old level of the ground, placed so as to face the south, being exactly opposite the north porch, or principal entrance of the church. It has inclined sides, a semicircular head, and is 6 ft. high, and 3 ft. wide at the base. The arch is formed of seven stones, and there is a flat architrave running round, which is about 6 in. wide. The tower is now incorporated into the 13th century work of the cathedral, and is entered from the triforium, the original door being built up.

Mr. William Hacket remarks in a letter to Dr. Petrie on Britway church :

"The doorway of Cashel round tower is precisely the same as that of Britway, the curb or relief projection being exactly alike, only that the centre was removed."

There are four windows at the top, triangular-headed outside, and square inside, with inclined jambs ; while those of the under stories are of a narrow oblong form, and square-headed. The top windows do not point accurately to the cardinal points.

The annalists of Ireland do not mention this belfry, although the church to which it belonged is frequently spoken of. Cormac's chapel, which appears to be next in date to this tower of the group of ecclesiastical buildings on the rock of Cashel, will be noticed in the latter portion of this work.

CLOICTHECH MAINISTREACH BUIE.

BELFRY OF MONASTERBOICE.

PLATES LXXI. AND LXXII.



MONASTERBOICE is situated in the barony of Ferrard, in the county of Louth, on the northern road from Drogheda to Dundalk, in an open pastoral country, finely undulating and thinly dotted with cottages of peasants.

The little group of buildings consists of a lofty round tower, by the side of two small churches, and three richly sculptured crosses, surrounded by a crowd of tombs and headstones of various ages. The round tower appears to be of greater antiquity than the oldest of the two churches.

The aspect of this fine and interesting belfry, with its shattered summit, is that of a building of great antiquity. It stands to the north-west of the church, and is beautifully built of the flat bedded slate rock of the locality. Where the stones at the base have been preserved by their covering of earth it is seen that they were carefully dressed with the pick. This dressing is now weathered off the upper structure, but the stones are well worked to the round, and the interstices are neatly filled in with spawls. Little mortar is visible, and where it does appear it is of a very inferior quality. The

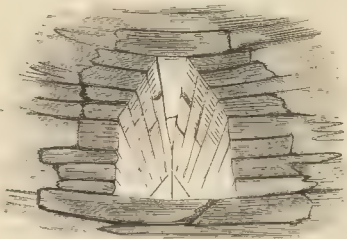
stones are from 1 ft. to 4 ft. in length, and from 4 in. to 14 in. thick. The tower stands 110 ft. in height, although its conical roof has fallen; it is 51 ft. in circumference, and 8 ft. 9 in. in diameter at the level of the door. The wall is 3 ft. thick. It rises from a plinth which projects 6 in. externally and 4 in. internally.

The doorway is of sandstone, and is about 4 ft. above the present level of the ground, which has been raised at least 3 ft. or 4 ft. It faces east-south-east. It is 5 ft. 6 in. high and 2 ft. 1 in. at the base, and 1 ft. 11 in. at the top. It is round-headed, with inclined sides, and is 3 ft. 9 in. deep. There is a peculiar flat, double, slightly raised band 1 1/2 in. wide running round it, and so moulded as to suggest the idea of a cross.



WINDOW IN BELFRY, MONASTERBOICE.

There is a little window over the doorway, which is also of sandstone, and is triangular-headed. The second window, which is much larger than the first, faces to the west, the third to the north, and the fourth to the south. The latter three are square-headed. With respect to the first, that over the door, Mr. Du Noyer was the first to observe to Dr. Petrie a certain peculiarity in its construction, which is, that, while on the outside the arch is formed by the inclination of two stones to one point, on the inside



WINDOW IN BELFRY, MONASTERBOICE, INTERIOR.

it is produced by the overlapping of four stones at each side, the edges of which are cut so as to correspond with the slope of the window-top, and they are united at the top by two stones laid over them. This is an uncommon feature, if, indeed, it occurs at all elsewhere.

The tower leans to one side on the north-west, and when viewed from the south-west it has a very peculiar curve, being convex to the north and concave to the south. Where this curve commences, a distinct change of masonry is visible. At first I did not perceive the meaning of this, which now seems obvious to me. When the tower was built to this height, the foundation began to settle down with the weight, and when this was perceived the builders very skilfully carried up the building in a nearly vertical line, so as to counteract the tendency to lean, and preserve the centre of gravity. This is the exact counterpart of what was done at Pisa, in the erection of the great Campanile. Unfortunately I did not get a photograph showing this singular feature in Monasterboice tower. The tower rises above the height which lies between it and the sea, so that the view from the top is very extensive both seaward and landward.





EAST CHURCH, MONASTERBOICE.

This church, as well as the tower, is built of greenstone, or hard sandstone. Some of the stones are very large in the lower part. One of them measures 5 ft. 6 in. in length. At both ends in the south wall there is long and short work. The mortar is rather fine. In the west front, I observed at the north side two, and at the south side three stones in the wall, with a long groove (see fig. *a*) about 1 in. wide and 1 in. deep. This groove did not go within 4 in. of the angle of the wall. At the west end the wall recedes 5 in. The west door has small jambs almost vertical, but only the upper 3 ft. are visible. The doorway is 2 ft. 7 in. wide, with jambs nearly vertical, and the width of the lintel inside is 6 ft. 6 in. long, and 8 in. high. The windows are all destroyed.



This church consisted of nave and chancel. The nave measures 35 ft. 7 in. long, by 17 ft. 6 in. broad. The chancel arch is rude, and nearly gone. The chancel is quite destroyed.

THE SECOND CHURCH AT MONASTERBOICE.

This is much the same style of masonry as the other. There are some large stones in the lower part of the walls, and putlock holes. The gables of the east walls have fallen. There is a pointed doorway in the west wall about 20 ft. from the door of the tower. It may be questioned whether this doorway is not an insertion. The north and south windows opposite each other are rude and much broken.

It now remains to speak of the two crosses which appear in Plates LXXI. and LXXII. The first and smaller cross bears the following inscription on its base :—

OR DO MUIREDACH LAS . . N DERNAD IN CHRO . . A.

(Pray for Muredach, by whom was made this cross.)

The formula *lasandernad in chrossa* ("by whom this cross was made") occurs in the inscriptions found on the Tuam cross, and on the stone of Turcan, at Clonmacnois, which was probably the base of another standing cross.¹

Dr. Petrie, in his work on the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 406, has already made the following observations on this inscription :—

"If we find that there was an abbot of this name, Muredach, at Monasterboice, the

¹ See "Christian Inscriptions of Ireland," vol. ii. page 66.

natural inference will be, that he was the erector of this cross ; but unfortunately we learn from the Irish Annals that there were two of the name—one who died in the year 844, and the other in the year 924 ; so that it must be a matter of some uncertainty to which of these the erection of the cross may be ascribed. This is a difficulty, however, which to my mind is greatly decreased by the nature of the entries respecting those persons in the Annals, and from which it clearly appears that the latter of these Muredachs was a man of much greater distinction, and probably wealth, than the former, and therefore more likely to have been the erector of the crosses at Monasterboice, and, as I conceive, their contemporaneous tower. Thus, in the 'Annals of Ulster,' the death of the first Muredach is entered simply as follows : 'A. D. 844. Muredach, son of Flann, Abbot of Mainister Buite died,' while the death of the second is thus entered : 'A. D. 923 or 924. Muiredach, son of Domhnall, tanist Abbot of Armagh, and chief steward of the southern Hy Niall, and successor of Buite, the son of Bronach, head of the counsel of all the men of Bregia, laity and clergy, departed this life on the 5th day of the calends of December.' The death of this Muiredach is similarly entered in the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' except that they call him 'the steward of the people of Patrick (Armagh), from Sliabh Fuaid to Leinster.'

"Moreover, the close resemblance between the subjects of the sculptures on this cross and the style of their execution to those of the great cross at Clonmacnois, which I have shown to be of the early part of the tenth century, strongly corroborates the inference as to its date, which I have drawn from the preceding historical notices."

Mr. O'Neill, in his work on the "Sculptured Stones of Ireland," gives the following of the details on this the south-east cross of Monasterboice :—

"The crucifixion has the usual accessories of the sponge and spear-bearers ; there are also supporting angels at the head of Christ. Above and below Christ are serpents, whirling from ornamental bosses, and to the right and left are bosses with serpents indicated conventionally. The three groups on the shaft of the cross, and the fourth one over the crucifixion, seem to refer to one story. In the lowest group an ecclesiastic is attacked by two armed men ; in the next, these men have become ecclesiastics ; in the third the ecclesiastic resigns his staff to one and his book to another ; the Spirit of God is seen descending on this latter ; and in the upper group the two men have become ecclesiastics, and are aiding in raising the second figure to heaven. I do not know what to make of the groups at each side of the crucifixion. The patterns on the ring are serpents, with one limb from each animal thrown out for the purpose of making a plait-work pattern.

"The south side of the shaft is divided into three panels ; the lowest panel consists of eight human figures plaited together ; the next pattern is serpents grouped in whirls, the whirls being on raised bosses ; and the upper panel has a tree in bowers, with animals.

"The next subject is the end of the southern cross arm ; it represents Pilate washing his hands ; a servant pours water from a vessel shaped like a horn ; similarly shaped vessels are represented on the walls of Pompeii. Guards, armed with swords and shields, are in the rear. The top subject is supposed to be Christ's entry into Jerusalem ; angels attend ; over all is an ornament of serpents and bosses. The north side of the shaft is ornamented with three panels of interlacing. In the middle is the end of the north cross arm, containing the mocking of Christ, with angels attending ; the top subject is two figures, with pastoral staves, and a dove between them."

HISTORICAL NOTE ON MONASTERBOICE.—The name of this place is derived from Mainister Buite, *i.e.* the Monastery of Buite, or Boetius, a bishop who lived about the end of the fifth century. His festival was celebrated on the 7th of December, according to the "*Féilire Oengusso*." His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters : "A. D. 521. St. Buite Mac Bronaigh, Bishop of Mainister, died on the 7th of December." It was said of him that "he was a virtuous judge, with hands fair with the glory of pure deeds." Of the subsequent history of Monasterboice but little is preserved beyond a few scattered records of the deaths of occasional abbots and professors anterior to the twelfth century, of whom Flann, poet, antiquary, and historian, was the most distinguished. A considerable number of his works are preserved to our time. O'Reilly gives the names of fourteen of his historical poems in his work entitled "*Irish Writers*," pp. 76, 78 ; and Dr. Petrie adds, that his most valuable works are the "*Synchronisms of Irish Kings, with the Eastern and Roman Emperors*," and of the "*Christian Provincial Kings of Ireland, and the Kings of Scotland of the Irish race, with the Chief Monarchs of Ireland*," perfect copies of which are preserved in the MS. Book of Lecan, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The last notice of Monasterboice, in the "*Annals of the Four Masters*," is the obit of its "wise priest," Feargna, in the year 1122.

CLOICTHECH GLINDE-DA-LOCHA.

BELFRY OF GLENDALOUGH.

PLATE LXXIII.



HIS tower was the great belfry of the group of churches, some of which have been already described, in the valley of Glendalough, barony of Ballinacor and county of Wicklow ; it stands at a distance of 9 perches from the cathedral, to the north. There were two smaller round belfries in the valley, but they were attached to churches, and will be noticed in a later portion of this work, together

with others of the same nature. The belfry represented in Plate LXXIII. is almost perfect, but it has lost its conical roof. It rises to a height of 110 ft., and is 52 ft. in circumference; it is built chiefly of mica slate, with a few courses of granite at intervals, which have rather the appearance of encircling bands; it is well built of spawled masonry; some of the stones measure 3 ft. long, they are hammer-dressed to bring them into the necessary curve. The masonry altogether appears far better than the upper or rubble portion of the cathedral. The tower has no regular plinth, only a base course of rather small stones, projecting 6 in., the tower stands about 50 yards north-west of the church.



GLENDALOUGH.

The doorway, which is 10 ft. above the level of the ground, is constructed of blocks of granite chiselled, without moulding or ornament of any kind; it is round headed, with inclined sides, the arch being cut out of three stones; it is 5 ft. 7 in. high, 2 ft. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 10 in. at the top. There are four square-headed windows facing the four cardinal points, and there is one square-headed window besides in each of the five other stories. All the apertures in this tower have inclined jambs, and have no internal splay.

There is a curious bulging out of the masonry not far below the top of the tower, probably the effect of lightning, and it seems to batter in a straight line; the entasis, if any, is very slight.



PL. XXVIII.

CLOICTHECH CILLE MIC DUACH.

BELFRY OF KILMACDUACH, COUNTY OF GALWAY.

PLATES LXXIV AND LXXV.



THE group of ecclesiastical buildings to which this structure served as the belfry is situated in the barony of Killtartan, and in the county of Galway. This is one of the finest round towers in Ireland; it stands to the south-west of the group, and measures 120 ft. in height by 57 in circumference, the wall is 4 ft. thick. It is a leaning tower, having an inclination of more than 6 ft. towards the south. According to the tradition of the country this inclination was caused by cannon balls fired at it by Cromwell's soldiers; it is also said to have been struck by lightning. The inclination in this, as in other towers, has, however, probably been caused by a subsidence of the foundation.

This tower is admirably built; the style of masonry corresponds with that of two churches close by, but that of the tower is grander and the stones are larger. Some of them are shown in Plate LXXV., which measure 8 ft. long by 2 ft., 5 ft. by 2 ft., and 5 ft. by 3 ft. deep. The stones are dressed to the round and batter, and the tower rises from a well-cut plinth.

The doorway is 26 ft. above the level of the ground. It faces north-east, and is round-headed, the arch being cut out of the lintel stone. The sides of this aperture are inclined, and it measures 6 ft. 10 in. in height, and 2 ft. 10 in. in width at the sill; and is 4 ft. 4 in. in depth, the wall being thicker here than it is above. It is constructed of large blocks of the limestone of the district. The windows are all triangular-headed, with inclined sides. The first faces about north, the second south-east, the third to the west, the fourth is over the door, and the fifth to the south-west. There are six windows just below the cornice under the roof.

If the date of the three towers, Kilmacduach, Killala, and Antrim, could be ascertained, its bearing on the architectural history of these structures would be most important. Dr. Petrie¹ considers the popular tradition which ascribes the erection of several of the

¹ "Eccl. Architecture," p. 382.

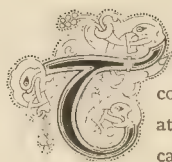
existing towers to the celebrated architect, Goban Saer, to be worthy of attention, and discovers a certain harmony between the architecture of these towers and that of the churches to which he would ascribe the same early date. According to this theory we must believe these towers to have been erected in the seventh century. However, there is no evidence to be derived from a comparison of the three buildings attributed to him, which would tend to prove that they were the work of the same hand. The tower of Antrim is utterly unlike Kilmacduach or Killala; much, however, of this difference may be owing to the character of the building stone furnished by the several districts.

The monastery to which this belfry belonged was founded by St. Colman MacDuach in the beginning of the seventh century. The life of this ecclesiastic has been already noticed at page 70 of the first volume of this work.

CLOICTHECH CHILLE-ALAIHD.

BELFRY OF KILLALA, COUNTY OF MAYO.

PLATE LXXVI.



HIS tower is situated in the parish of Killala, barony of Tirawley, and county of Mayo. It is now perfect, although it was struck by lightning at the beginning of this century, which knocked off part of the roof, and caused a fracture in the wall at about half its height; this, however, was repaired, and the wall pointed by Bishop Verschoyle about thirty-five years ago.

The tower rises to a height of 84 ft., and is 51 ft. in circumference, and the wall is $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick. It is built upon a rock, and the exterior masonry is admirable; some of the stones are large and worked to the round and batter; one of these stones is 7 ft. 6 in. long. The courses are not quite regular, and there is no ashlar work; inside the masonry is rough. The mason who could have cut these limestones on the exterior to the true curve and batter, and fitted them to it so well, could have executed ashlar work. Altogether the masonry forms an intermediate step between the towers like Clones, which are built of rough or rubble masonry, and those of ashlar work.

This tower stands upon a plinth, varying from 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. in height according to the ground, it projects from 2 to 8 in.; in the inside there is an offset about 13 or 14 ft. above the level of the door.



1011







The doorway, which faces the south-east, is 11 ft. above the ground; it is round-headed, and 3 ft. 6 in. deep; the arch of the door is formed of three stones, which as well as the jambstones extend the entire thickness of the wall: they are all of punched work. This door is 5 ft. 6½ in. high, 2 ft. 3 in. wide at the base, and 2 ft. at the springing of the arch. There is a square-headed window about 15 ft. higher up, which faces the north-east; on the next story there is a similar window, over the door. Above that another, facing south-west; and near the top there are four windows facing, respectively, north, south, east, and west; they are triangular-headed outside and square-headed inside. There is no church nearer to this tower at present than the cathedral of Killala, which must be about two hundred feet from it. The church is constructed of oolitic limestone.

Killala was the seat of an ancient bishopric founded by St. Patrick, who placed his servant, Muiredach, there as first bishop. The see was also called Kilmoy-Moy; sometimes Tir-Amalgaid, or Hy Fiachra-mui. In the "Martyrology of Donegal" we read that the memory of this bishop was venerated on August the 12th, Muiredhach, Bishop of Cill Aladh, of the race of Laeghaire, son of Niall. There is no mention of this place in the "Annals" of the Four Masters until the year 1235, between which date and 1442 we find the obits recorded of seven bishops, two erenachs, two deans, and one canon belonging to Killala.

CLOICTHECH CENANDSA.

BELFRY OF KELS.



HIS tower stands in the churchyard of the town of Kells, which is situated in the parish and barony of the same name in the county of Meath. It has lost its conical roof, but otherwise is in good preservation, and is well built, chiefly of limestone, the stones being worked to the round and batter. The stone is of a light brown and reddish colour, similar to that used in the old church buildings, and obtained in the country. It stands on a plinth which is about 6 in. wide.

The doorway is about 5 ft. above the present level, and 12 ft. above the level of the street; it faces nearly north. It is constructed of sandstone, and is thus different from the rest of the tower; the masonry is ashlar, though rough. The sandstone is much worn on its face, the surface being gone three quarters of an inch in some places. It is round-arched with inclined sides, and measures 5 ft. 3 in. in height, and 2 ft. 2 in. wide at the

base, and 1 ft. 11 in. at the springing of the arch. The wall is 3 ft. 6 in. thick. This doorway is ornamented with an architrave running round it about 6 in. wide and 1 in. deep; on one side there is a projecting stone formerly a carved head, but now so much defaced that no distinct form can be seen. On the opposite side there is another project-

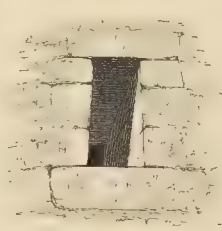


BELFRY OF KELLS.

ing stone; over the arch is a horizontal lintel stone, the part which covers over the centre arch stone projects, and there was carving here, but it is now quite gone. The length of the stone over the key-stone in the arch of the door is 4 ft., while that of the sill is 5 ft.; the latter is of blue limestone, while the rest of the doorway is of dark red sandstone beautifully dressed, squared and fitted. Three forms of aperture, square,



DOORWAY OF BELFRY, KELLS.



WINDOW OF BELFRY, KELLS.

triangular, round-headed, are found in the windows of this tower, the four top windows facing the cardinal points are straight-sided, with jambs inclining very much; the window on the first story faces south, the second east, and the third west.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON KELLS.—In the "Chronicon Scotorum" there is the following entry regarding this belfry :—"A.D. 1073 Murchadh, son of Conchobhar Ua Maeilsechlainn, was killed by Amhlaibh, son of Maelan, i.e. the King of Gaileng, in the Cloitech [belfry or steeple] of Cenannus." The same event is recorded by the Four Masters, and in the "Annals of Loch Cé," as occurring in the year 1066.

The Irish¹ name of Kells is Cenannus, which signifies "Head-abode," and gives the title of Headfort in the Irish, and *Kenlis* in the British Peerage, to the family of Taylor, whose seat is beside the town of Kells. *Kenlis* is the transition form of the name. It was the royal *dún*, or seat of Diarmait Mac Cerbhaill, as is stated in the old Irish life of St. Columba, followed by O'Donnell, where it is also said :—"Colum-cille then marked out the city in extent, as it now is, and blessed it all, and said it would become the most illustrious possession he should have in the land, although it would not be there his resurrection should be." O'Donnell¹ observes that Diarmait granted it to the saint in amends for injuries which he had done to him, and that his son, Aedh Slane, was a consenting party. If a church was founded here by St. Columba, it must have been an inconsiderable one, for there is no mention of the place in the "Annals" as a religious seat until 804, when, on account of the dangers and sufferings to which the community of Hy were exposed, measures were taken for the provision of an asylum in Ireland; and, as the "Annals of Ulster" state, "Kells was given, without battle, to Columbkille, the harmonious, in this year." In furtherance of which there was commenced, in 807, the "constructio nove civitatis Columbe-cille hi [in] Ceninnus;" and, in 814, Ceallach Abbas Iae, "finita constructione templi Cenindsa reliquit principatum, et Diarmicius alumpnus Daigri pro eo ordinatus est." From this time forward it became the chief seat of the Columbian monks.

There are several indications of the ancient importance of the place still remaining, such as the above-mentioned round tower; the curious oratory, called "St. Columkille's House;" the ancient cross in the churchyard, having on the plinth the inscription, "Cruz Patricii et Columbe;" a second cross, now standing in the market-place; and a third, once the finest of the three, now lying in a mutilated condition in the churchyard. The shafts of all these crosses were covered with historical scenes from Scripture. Trinity College, Dublin, possesses its great literary monument, commonly known as the "Book of Kells." It is an Evangelium, somewhat resembling the "Book of Durrow," but far surpassing it in the brilliancy and elaborateness of its execution. In the tenth and

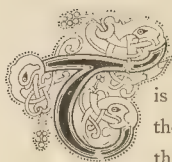
¹ See Reeves' "Adamnan," pp. 278, 321, 328, 378, 388.

following centuries the families of Uah Uchtain and Ua Clucain furnished successively a large proportion of the chief officers of this church, the occupation of its lands having probably become hereditary in their clans.

CLOITHECH DISERT OINGUSSO.

BELFRY OF DISERT AENGUS, COUNTY OF LIMERICK.¹

PLATE LXXVII.



HE ecclesiastical establishment of Disert, formerly called Dysert Aengus, is situated about one or two miles west of the small town of Croom, in the parish of Dysert and townland of Carrigeen, barony of Coshma, and the county of Limerick.

The church and tower of Dysert, as seen from the north-east, are represented in the following woodcut.



CHURCH AND BELFRY OF DISERT AENGUS.

¹ The following description of Disert Aengus is taken from Lord Dunraven's work entitled "Memorials of Adare."





THE TOWER OF THE Lighthouse
at the mouth of the River

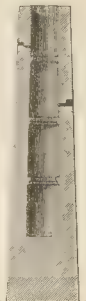
The tower stands 11 ft. from the north wall of the church, upon a rock, which here slightly rises above the level of the surrounding ground, and which would appear to have given origin to the name of the townland, Carrigeen, or the Little Rock. The tower is built of limestone, well and strongly put together, the masonry being different from and superior to that of the church. Near the base the stones are rather large, but not so much so as some of those forming a portion of the walls of the church. It is at present 67 ft. high; no trace remains of the windows, usually several in number, which occur in the upper story. Judging, indeed, by the present dimensions of the tower, probably two stories are wanting. The accompanying section, drawn to scale, shows the position of the floors, windows, etc.

In the year 1849, a careful examination was made by Mr. Christie below the level of the doorway, of which the following is the result. There was first a floor of hard clay, about 1 ft. thick, then about 7 ft. of rubbish, in which were some bones, but no skulls; under which was another floor of clay 1 ft. thick; below this, common red clay; then clay similar to the first floor, extending to the rock, in which a few bones were found and one clinker.

The diameter at bottom is externally 17 ft. 6 in., at the top about 13 ft. The sill of the doorway is 15 ft. above the rock. At this level the walls are 4 ft. 3 in. thick, and at the top about 3 ft. 6 in. The doorway faces the east, and is 5 ft. 10 in. in height, 2 ft. 9 in. wide at the bottom, and 2 ft. 5 in. at the springing of the arch. It is built of well-dressed sandstone, the stones being slightly bonded into the masonry of the tower walls. This is one of the few round tower doorways presenting ornamental features, and the only one in Ireland having the pellet or ball-moulding on the doorway; but the same ornament is to be seen, with the pellets closer, on the doorway of the tower of Brechin in Scotland. At Dysert, it is not carried below the spring of the arch. The pellet appears also on the cornice of the tower of Devenish.

The accompanying woodcut *a* exhibits a section of the moulding of this door, but I should remark that it is not at present nearly so sharp as is here represented, the sandstone being much worn away. The section is one-eighth of the full size.

The moulding, where dotted, is too decayed to distinguish whether it had the form of beads or fillets. In the jambs, both near the centre of the wall and



SECTION OF BELFRY.



SECTION OF Moulding.

¹ "Vit. S. Col." i. 60, 64; iii. 75; "Tr. Th.," pp. 399b, 400a, 4459.

towards the edges, there are round holes, but no indication of how the door was hung. In a letter respecting the tower, from the late William Morrison, quoted by Dr. Petrie in his "Essay," p. 366, it is suggested that, as the aperture narrows towards the exterior, a frame may have been inserted and wedged to the inside; however, I find



DOORWAY OF BELFRY, DISERT AENGUS.

that the breadth of the doorway is, on the contrary, 3 ft. at the bottom on the outside, and only 2 ft. 9 in. on the inside, which would more successfully secure the door-frame from pressure inwards. About 5 ft. under the level of the door is an offset, below which the walls are internally composed of very rough stones; among them is one smoothly punched, evidently taken from some other building; it is not an insertion, but part of the original wall.

The internal diameter of the first floor, measuring at the level of the door, is 8 ft. 3 in., and its height 12 ft. 10 in. Close to the level of the floor, in the second



WINDOW IN BELFRY.

story, is a triangular-headed window, the jambs and arch of which are of well-chiselled sandstone. They are parallel, consequently not splayed. The breadth at the bottom is 1 ft. 4½ in.; at the top, 1 ft. 1 in.; height, 3 ft. 8 in. This window faces west. The wall is here 4 ft. thick, and this story 13 ft. 2 in. high. The third story is 12 ft.



WINDOW IN BELFRY.

2 in. high. Near its level is the circular-headed window facing the south, 1 ft. 5 in. wide at the bottom, and 1 ft. 4 in. at the springing of the arch, and 3 ft. 2 in. high; the

wall 3 ft. 8 in. thick. These two windows are represented in the annexed woodcuts. They possess a peculiarity, not very uncommon in the windows of round towers, that is, that the external round form of their tops is not carried through the wall, but, at two-thirds of the thickness from the outside, the aperture is lower and square-headed, as is shown in the woodcut.

The fourth story reaching to the present top is 13 ft. 10 in. high. This is lighted by a square-headed window facing north-east, about the same width, but shorter than the others, and without splay. The wall is 3 ft. 8 in. thick. The internal diameter of the tower at the summit is 5 ft. 10 in. In the second story a number of small holes may be observed, placed irregularly, and on the third story a row of them, at a uniform height of about 5 ft. above the floor; and also others irregularly placed. They are from 2 in. to 3 in. wide, and a few inches deep, and were probably made for the purpose of holding pegs on which to hang the valuables of the monastery, which were commonly lodged in the tower for safety.¹

With respect to the question whether doorways enriched with sculptured or other ornaments are insertions, and not part of the original building, the affirmative of which is stoutly maintained by the advocates of the very early pagan origin of the Round Towers, it may be well to mention that such is clearly not the case in the present instance: for it is most curious, that two of the courses on the right-hand side of the door, as viewed externally, actually bend down for the length of several stones to meet the line of courses of the jamb, thus showing that the wall was in course of erection when the doorway was in progress. Unfortunately, this was not perceived when the sketch (*Memorials of Adare*, p. 216) was taken; but no one whose attention is called to it can fail to notice that such is the fact. This illustrates the great value of photographs for architectural details. (See *Memorials of Adare*, p. 218.)

The church, which stands at a distance of about eleven feet from the tower, possesses little interest with the exception of the doorway. It is built of limestone, and has been much repaired; but a portion of the walls, together with the doorway, appears to be part of the original structure. This portion contains some large stones, their dimensions being from 2 ft. to 3 ft. in length and width; they do not run through the wall, but are used as facings on each side, and are filled with grouting in the centre. The building is a simple oblong, not divided into nave and choir; it measures 54 ft. in length, by 18 ft. broad

¹ Vide Reeves's *Adamnan's vita S. Columbæ*, p. 359, and also the notes to p. 116, where will be found an extract from Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*, p. 93, in which he states that the books in the libraries of the Monasteries of Abyssinia are kept in cases, to which are attached straps, and by these straps the books are hung to wooden pegs.

internally, and the walls are $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick. These dimensions are in accordance with what appears to have been a general rule in the erection of the most ancient churches in Ireland.

The doorway is in the south side, 21 ft. from the west end, and it may be worthy of remark that this is a very uncommon circumstance in the early churches; I have only heard of two other instances, the almost invariable position being in the west end. Only one of the jambs remains, which, as is usual in early Irish churches, is slightly inclined, and but one-half of the great lintel-stone, 1 ft. 4 in. thick, which was probably broken by the superincumbent pressure, when the western jamb was removed. This doorway has a flat, slightly projecting band or architrave, 11 in. wide, which is not an unusual feature in the old churches. In the lintel the line of architrave is nearly 4 in. to the west of its true position, the result most probably of the pressure of ivy, affording a striking instance of the power of this agent in moving such large stones. The height of the door is 6 ft. 5 in. A few years ago, during a gale of wind, the western gable fell down, in consequence apparently of the heavy mass of ivy which had been allowed to remain upon it.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON DISERT AENGUS.—For the following account of the founder of this church, I am indebted to my distinguished friend, the late Professor Eugene Curry, whose death all who value the ancient history of Ireland have the deepest reason to deplore:—

"Aengus *Ceile De*, vulgarly called Aengus the Culdee, author of the celebrated metrical *Festilogium*, was a priest, at first attached to no particular community. He was an Ulster man by birth and descent. He travelled into Munster, and built the church and tower of Disert Aengus, near Ballingarry, in the county of Limerick, about the year 780. He proceeded to Leinster, spent some time with St. Maelruain, of Tamlacht, now Tallagh or Tallaght, near Dublin, and finally built a church at *Disert Bithech*, or the *Birchy Desert*, near Mountrath, in the Queen's County, where he died about the year 815."

It is a remarkable circumstance, as stated by Dr. Reeves in his Essay on the Culdees, that nothing is known of this celebrated ecclesiastic from the general historical records of Ireland; his name even does not occur in the Annals; all that can be learnt about him is gathered from the Advertisement or Preface which, in some manuscripts, accompanies his chief composition, the *Felire*, or Calendar of the Saints of Ireland, of which a Latin translation is given by Colgan in his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, under the Saint's day, the 11th of March.¹

¹ Acta SS. Hib. i. p. 579.

It is there stated that he flourished about the beginning of the ninth century, and that he sprang from the Dalaradii, a powerful northern race, who occupied the present counties of Down and Antrim. He is represented as entering the monastic life, and devoting himself to the most rigid austerities; and after having been attached to the monastery of Cluain-eidhnech (the Ivy Lawn), now known as the parish of Clonenagh in the Queen's County, he retired to a short distance, and occupied a cell in a wild spot, called in Irish *Disert*, which was afterwards, when a church was built there, called Disert Aengus, deriving this title from him as the founder. The name is still borne under the form of Dysartenos, a parish in the neighbourhood of Maryborough. This preface, as translated by Colgan, does not record the name of any church founded by Aengus in Munster; but in the Preface of the Félire, which is preserved in a manuscript belonging to Dr. Petrie, a valuable statement exists, which supplies a link in his history. It is there mentioned, with reference to the cause of his writing the Félire, that "he happened to be coming from Disert, in *Munster*, to Cuil-Bennchair (Coolbanagher), in the country of Ui-Failghe (now Offaly), for the purpose of taking Maelruain of Tamlachta, as soul friend" (*i.e.* spiritual director), etc. This Disert, like that near Clonenagh, was a retired spot, where he had probably founded a church; and his peculiar habits of seclusion led to the fact of a second Dysert being connected with his name, which in all probability is the Dysert near Croom. On this subject Dr. Petrie writes:—

"There were often churches called after their founders in different localities, and if the Limerick Dysert could, like that in the Queen's County, be shown by any old evidence to have been called Dysert Engus, it would be sufficient to settle the question."

This link, as will be seen, can be satisfactorily supplied, although the place is now called simply Dysert, and tradition does not couple the name with the memory of any saint to serve as a distinctive mark for it, among the numerous Dyserts which appear on the map of Ireland; yet from a passage in the Annals of the Four Masters the addition of Aengus may be suggested as applicable to this church. In the year 1033, these Annalists record that "Conn, Son of Maelpadraig, Airchinnech (or Superior) of Mungairit and Disert-Oenghusa, died." Dr. O'Donovan, in his note, identifies the latter place with Dysartenos in the Queen's County, which he might fairly do, as the word is a modernized form of the compound, and there being evidence that Aengus was connected with it. Also, as Dr. Reeves informs me, it was frequently the case, that the same ecclesiastic was superior of two or more monasteries situated in different provinces, which owed their connection to the fact of their having been founded by a common saint, though geographically far apart. Mr. O'Curry, however, did not adopt this identification, and as Mungairit, now known as Mungret, is in the county of Limerick,

he concluded that the other church mentioned in the passage of the Annals must be somewhere in the same district; and Dysert so far suited his view, as bearing the traces of an ancient foundation in its venerable Church and Round Tower.

This identification may have been conjectural, for Mr. O'Curry probably knew of no authority for calling this Dysert Aengus, except the presumption that it might be the Munster Dysert, with which one document showed Aengus to be connected. Recent research, however, fully substantiates the learned Professor's conjecture, and leaves little doubt that this Dysert was a Church of Aengus Célé-Dé. For, although in the two ancient taxations compiled about the close of the thirteenth century, the name appears simply under the same form as that which it now bears, yet it has been recently discovered, that in the *Liber Niger* of Limerick, a venerable manuscript consisting of charters, taxations, and other documents connected with that See, this parish is mentioned about a century earlier, under the year 1201, as Dissert Enguss, and between 1250 and 1270, as Dysert-Enegus, showing that at that very early period this was the local appellation of the Church, and which was carried on to a much later time, as will be seen in the next paragraph. Thus an important piece of information is supplied, leaving little room for questioning the correctness of Mr. O'Curry's identification; and it is satisfactory that this conclusion is shared in by Dr. Petrie, and also by Dr. Reeves.

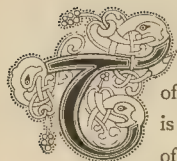
The following historical notices of Dysert are all that I have been able to discover besides those already quoted. The name occurs in both the Taxations of 1291 and 1302. Next, in the *Liber Niger* of Limerick, in the list of churches in the deanery of Adare, occurs "Præbenda de Dissert Engussa." In a visitation of the diocese of Limerick (James I.) it is described as "Pleb. de Dysert sie, *ol.* 13s. 4d." Here "sie" is probably a fragment of the word Aengusa (Aengu)sie. In the Royal Visitation-book of 1610 is the following entry: "Prebenda de Disert, Georgius Sexton, Laicus, Johannes Fitz Derby, cur."; and by that of 1615 it appears that Richard Fuller was curate of Disert, and Philip Jenkins reader (Minister legens).



CLOICTHECH TIGE MOCHUA.

BELFRY OF TIMAHOE, QUEEN'S COUNTY.

PLATES LXXIX. AND LXXX.



HIS belfry is situated in the parish of Timahoe or Fossy, in the barony of Cullinagh in Queen's County. The original church to which it belonged is now replaced by a modern church, a few yards to the south-west corner of which it stands. The ruins of an ancient monastery yet remain, but they are nearly featureless; one pointed arch may be seen in the east gable.

The belfry is nearly perfect, only a portion of its conical roof is gone; it is 96 ft. in height and 57 ft. in circumference at the base, and the wall is 4 ft. 4 in. thick. The style of the masonry varies in a singular manner. Up to the level of the door the stones are rounded, but not laid in courses, then above this is irregular ashlar work, which again is superimposed by rough work like that at the base, and then all at the top is wide-jointed and irregular.¹

The tower is built of limestone, with the exception of the apertures, which are of sandstone. (See plan of jamb, fig. 3, plate facing p. 32.) Both externally and internally the stones are worked to the round, and inside the walls diminish by very deep offsets, four in number, on which the floors rested. There are five stories above the door-level. The tower springs from a plinth of three courses, the lower being 2 ft. high and 1 ft. deep, the two others 6 in. high and 4 in. deep.

There is an ornamented romanesque doorway at a height of 15 ft. from the level of the ground. It is of three orders, and measures 7 ft. 9 in. in height to the vertex of the outer arch, and 7 ft. 2 in. high to that of the inner arch. It is 2 ft. 9 in. wide at the bottom and the jambs incline so that it is 3 in. wider at the base than at the springing

¹ Mr. Brash, writing on this tower in his work on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 35, remarks that only the lower part of the tower is built of limestone, which is the prevailing material in the locality, and that from thence to a height of about thirty-five feet it is constructed of a dark buff-coloured grit or freestone, not found in the immediate locality, but met with in the form of boulders, on a townland named Aghowna, about one mile and a quarter from Timahoe. The workmanship of this portion is more regular than that of the base, being built of courses of varying heights, the joints of the blocks being vertical and horizontal, carefully wrought, and in some places fitting with the greatest nicety. The doorway is in this portion; the remainder of the tower is of limestone rubble, and the base has, to him, an air of great antiquity, looking much worn and crushed, and showing many signs of repair.

of the arch. The outer orders are 4 ft. and 3 ft. 9 in.; the second 2 ft. 8½ in. and 2 ft. 6 in. The sides are not parallel, a peculiarity also to be observed in the romanesque doorway of Kildare round tower. (See section, fig. 4, plate facing page 32.)

The ornaments consist of the diamond and flat pellet mouldings. The two bases of the outer order have the dumb-bell form at their north angle and a head at their south; one of the round mouldings at the angle has a head carved near the base, which, however, does not project beyond the reveal. (See figs. 1 and 2, plate facing page 32.) These sculptured heads here and at Killeslin are curious and resemble each other. The architrave of this arch is without ornament on its face, but its archivolt is richly decorated with a triple chevron moulding, the sub-arch or recessed division of this archway is sculptured in a style altogether different from that of the outer archway, being not in relief, as are all the other carvings of this interesting doorway, but in depressed lines, and of a simpler



WINDOW IN BELFRY, TIMAHOE.

design; the jambs are rounded into semicircular shafts at both their angles, the ornaments on the capitals are carried from the true capital to its abacus.

The four upper windows are nearly at the cardinal points, they are triangular-headed outside and round-headed inside; the first window above the door faces to the east, it has a steep projecting pediment, and this string course runs round the window. (See fig. a.) The fifth story received light

HISTORICAL NOTES ON TIMAHOE.—This place derives its name from St. Mochua, and was originally styled Tech Mochua, which signifies the house of Mochua.¹ This saint was venerated on the 24th of December, as we see in the Martyrology of Donegal:—“Mochua, son of Lonan, of Tigh Mochua in Laoighisin, Leinster. He was of the race of Eochaidh Finnfuathairt, from whom Bright is descended. Fineacht, daughter of Loichin, son of Dioma Chiret, of Cil Chonaigh, was his mother.” And in the Chronicon Scotorum, and the Annals of the Four Masters, his death is recorded:—“A.D. 654. Mochua, son of Lonan, quievit. A.D. 657. Mochua, son of Lonan, died.”

It is related in the life of St. Munna, the founder of the church of Taghmon in

¹ See Irish Names of Places, p. 291, Joyce.





CHURCH OF ST. PETER

Wexford, that "Mochua, son of Lonan, cured him of the leprosy which he had from the beginning." (Mart. Donegal, p. 281.)

The Four Masters record the deaths of several ecclesiastics connected with this place. At the date 1041, it is styled Teach Mochua-mic-Lonain.¹ The oratory of Timahoe is alluded to at the date 1069, and the place is said to have been burned in the year 1142.

Dr. O'Donovan has some interesting remarks on this tower in the following extracts from his letters on the Antiquities of the Queen's County.

"In this parish is situated the village of Timahoe, which is well known to antiquaries as containing the ruins of a monastery and round tower. I examined the localities of this village to-day, but was much disappointed at finding no ruin of a primitive Irish church near the round tower. Nothing at all of antiquarian interest is to be seen here but the tower itself, for the fragment which remains of the monastery is nearly featureless, containing only one pointed arch in the east gable, which is stopped up with mason-work and much disfigured. But I look upon the round tower as a curiosity in consequence of its very beautiful and exquisitely finished doorway, which differs widely from any that I have yet seen. This tower (according to the natives of the village of Timahoe, who saw it measured,) is 96 feet in height and 57 feet in circumference at the base.

"... I cannot understand how the door was fastened in this doorway. The whole of the tower is built of freestone, which is not the stone of the district. A considerable part of the west side is better built than any other part, and it would appear to me that the whole building was remodelled. I think that the doorway is one of the ninth century or tenth century, as it differs so materially in size and other characteristics from all the doorways of the other towers that I have seen; there is no well nor other feature at Timahoe called after the patron saint, A.D. 1069. 'Gillamaire Mac Duibh, chief Hy Crimthannan was slain by Macraith Ua Mordha in the doorway of the Oratory of Timahoe, after they had first mutually sworn on (the reliquary called) Caimin, which Mac Duff at the time held in his hand; so that the caimin is yet and will for ever remain stained with his (Mac Duff's) blood. Magrath O'More was afterwards killed at Mullean na Crosan, in the vicinity of Aghadbo, having the caimin then in his possession, in revenge of his having violated (the reliquary of) the saints of Fintan, Mochua, and Colman.'

"What this caimin, which in the time of the above entry was stained with the

¹ See Irish Names of Places, p. 291, Joyce. See Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 897, for another translation of this passage.

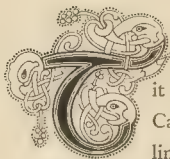
blood of Mac Duff, was, I have nothing to determine; but I think it was a crozier from the etymon of the word, which means 'a crooked little thing,' which might become a local name for a crozier which had belonged to either of the three local Saints Fintan, Mochua, and Colman. The Irish still believe that the stain caused by the blood of a murdered person can never be removed. I could hear nothing of any reliquary belonging to Timahoe now existing in the country.

"Has Mr. Petrie ever heard of the caimin or determined what it was? Tradition says that friars dwelt in the abbey of Timahoe until the year 1650, when Colonels Hudson and Reynolds overran the Queen's County, and among other acts of cruelty and devastation unavoidable in time of war murdered all the friars of this abbey and dismantled their house. The place where they were massacred is still called the road of murder."¹

CLOICTHECH UI RUAIRC.

O'RORKE'S BELFRY, CLONMACNOIS.

PLATE LXXXI.



THIS belfry is named from Fergal O'Rorke, king of Connaught, by whom it is said to have been built. It stands 108 ft. to the north-west of the Cathedral of Clonmacnois, and rests on a circular plinth; it is built of hard limestone. The greater part of the tower is fine jointed ashlar masonry, but the upper part is rubble walling of undressed limestone. It is interesting to observe that here the ruder and very inferior work is superimposed upon the fine and highly finished work of the first builders of the tower. More than one instance of this peculiarity may be observed in Ireland, where the inferior masonry is evidently work of a later period. It occurs in the round towers of Tullaherin in the county of Kilkenny and in that of Timahoe, as well as in the wall of the nave of Tomgrany Church.

The door is round-headed, with a regular arch of ashlar, and the sides, which are inclined, are formed of six stones, part of the regular and nearly parallel courses of masonry which continue all round the tower. Altogether the construction of this aperture is more regular than is usually seen in these towers.

¹ See Ord. Survey Letters, Queen's Co., vol. i. p. 279.

Section of Cap



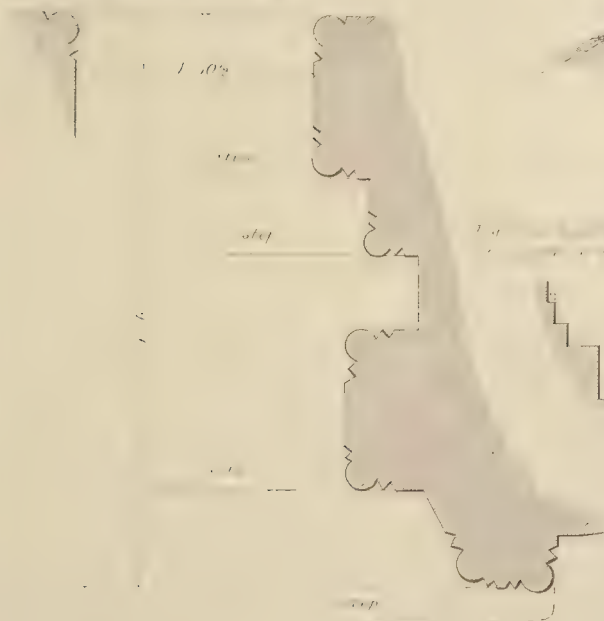
Diameter of Tower 9' 0"

Sketch of Base

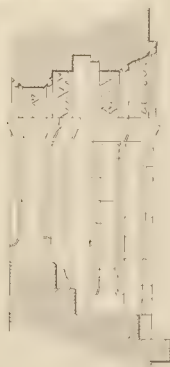


ТИМАНСЪ.

Section of the Tower



Section of the Tower



Section of the Tower



There are eight windows in the belfry story, all square-headed, with a single long stone forming the top; the other windows are all of the same form.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON O'RORKE'S TOWER.—The erection of this tower by Fergal O'Rourke, who was king of Connaught from the year 957 to 964, is described in the following passage, taken from the Registry of Clonmacnois, a document of the fourteenth century, as translated by Duald Mac Firis for Sir James Ware:—

"And the same O'Ruairk of his deuotion towards y^e Church undertooke to repayre those Churches and to keep them in reparation during his life upon his owne chardges, and to make a causey or a Toghar from y^e place called Cruan na feadh to Iubhar Conaire, and from Iubhar to y^e Logh; and the said Fergal did performe it, together wth all other promises y^e he made to Cluain, and the repaying of that number of Chaples or Cells, and the making of that Causey, or Taghar, and hath for a monument built a small steep castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish Claicthoug, in Cluain, as a memoriall of his owne parte of that Cemeterie: and the said Fergal hath made all those Cells before specified in Mortmaine for hym and his heires to Cluain; and thus was the sepulture of the O'Ruairks bought."—*Journal of the Kilkenny, &c., Archæol. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 452 (New Series).

The date of this tower would be fixed by this passage were it not that the document in which it appears has been shown by Dr. Petrie to be of too apocryphal a character to entitle it to much weight, and it has been suggested by the latter writer that this belfry was commenced at least as early as the year 908, when the Cathedral was erected by the Monarch Flann O'Melaghlin and the abbot Colman. The questions as to the date of this belfry, which it remains for future antiquaries to solve, are as follows:—

I.—Was it erected in the year 908, at the same period as the cathedral to which it belonged?

II.—Was it erected between the year 950 and 964 by Fergal O'Rorke, king of Connaught?

III.—Was it commenced between the years 1089 and 1103 by Cormac, son of Conn na mbocht, who commenced the work afterwards finished by Flathvertagh O'Longsie of finishing and roofing the Cathedral of Clonmacnois?

In support of the second assertion, it may be well to remark that the year 964 in which Fergal O'Rorke died, was also marked by the death of Cormac Ua Cillen, the builder of the belfry and church of Tomgrany (see Chron. Scot.), who was abbot of Clonmacnois and Tomgrany, and who also built the church, called from him Tempúl O'Cillen, at Clonmacnois. The striking similarity that exists between the masonry of this belfry and the oldest part of the walls of Tomgrany Church, and the peculiar occurrence of fine jointed ashlar superimposed by rubble, which may be observed in both these buildings, seem to support the theory as to their similarity of age, and to corroborate the testimony of the Registry as to the period when this tower was built. At whatever

time it was begun, it was finished in the year 1120, as we learn from the following passages :—A.D. 1120. The great belfry of Cluain-mic-Nois was finished by Gillacrist Ua Maeléoin and by Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair. (Chron. Scot.) A.D. 1124. The finishing of the cloitheach of Cluain-mic-Nois by Ua Maeléoin, successor of Ciaran.¹ (Ann. Four Mast.) The ecclesiastic here mentioned as finishing this work with the assistance of Turlough O'Connor, king of Connaught, is styled by the same authorities, bishop or abbot of Clonmacnois, the fountain of wisdom, knowledge, and charity, and the head of prosperity and affluence in Ireland.

The next entry regarding this tower, occurring in the same authorities, is as follows : A.D. 1131. Lightning knocked off the head of the steeple of Cluain-mic-Nois, and pierced the steeple of Roscre. (Chron. Scot.) A.D. 1135. Lightning struck off the head of the cloitheach of Cluain-mic-Nois, and pierced the cloitheach of Ros Cre. (Ann. Four Mast.) From this record we must fear that none of the work executed in the year 1124 is now remaining. It is quite obvious, as Dr. Petrie remarks, that, when the still existing restoration after the injury recorded in 1135 was made, the tower was reduced considerably in its original height, as proportioned to its circumference, and the masonry is totally different and inferior in character to that of the older part of the building. When speaking of the history of this tower, Dr. Petrie adds :²—

“We have decisive evidence in the Annals of the Four Masters to prove that this Tower of Clonmacnois, if not the smaller one also, was appropriated to the use of a belfry, and known by the same name as originally, so late as the year 1552, when Clonmacnois was plundered by the English garrison of Athlone,—an event of which the tradition of the place still preserves, with all its details, as lively an impression, as if it had been only of recent occurrence.” It is thus pathetically recorded :—

A.D. 1552. Clonmacnois was plundered and devastated by the Galls (English) of Athlone, and the large bells were taken from the “Cloitheach.” There was not left, moreover, a bell small or large, an image, or an altar, or a book, or a gem, or even glass in a window, from the wall of the church out, which was not carried off. Lamentable was this deed, the plundering of the city of Ciaran, the holy patron.

¹ See Note to the Ann. Four Mast., vol. ii. p. 978.

² Eccl. Architecture, p. 370.

CLOICTHECH ACHAID DÁ EÓ.

BELFRY OF AGHADOE, COUNTY OF KERRY.

PLATE LXXXII.



HIS belfry, and the church to which it belongs, are situated in the parish of the same name, in the barony of Magonihy and county of Kerry. The name signifies "the field of two yews," and the place must have borne this appellation at a very early time, since, in a poem attributed to Oisín, preserved in a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2. 18., fol. 160. b, the Plain of Two Yews is mentioned in connection with the names of other objects, rivers, hills, mountains, &c., which lie in the neighbourhood of Aghadoe.

Only a small portion of the tower remains, but it is sufficient to show its construction. It stands about 30 yards to the north-west of the doorway of the church. It is built of sandstone, the same as that of the nave in the latter. The stones are dressed, and the courses irregular. It is all ashlar; the masonry is rather fine jointed, the wall grouted. It is 7 ft. in diameter internally, and the walls are 4 ft. thick. When Dr. Petrie first saw it, it was more than 20 ft. in height, and the doorway, which is now destroyed, was at the height of 12 ft. from the ground.

ACHADH DÁ EÓ.

AGHADOE MILITARY ROUND TOWER.

PLATE LXXXIII.



HIS tower is situated outside the wall of the churchyard of Aghadoe, a little way down the hill to the south. It is very rudely built of boulder stones and rubble masonry. The plan of the building is that of a circular Norman keep of the thirteenth century. It measures 21 ft. in diameter inside, and the wall is about 6 ft. thick. There is a staircase in the thickness of the wall, and there are marks of two floors remaining, but the staircase leads only to the first floor. The doorway is on the east, at the level of the ground. The walls have a very slight batter at the base. This tower stands in a square intrenchment of a bank and fosse,

with projecting bastions on the south side. This building was evidently one of the castles built by the first Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland.¹

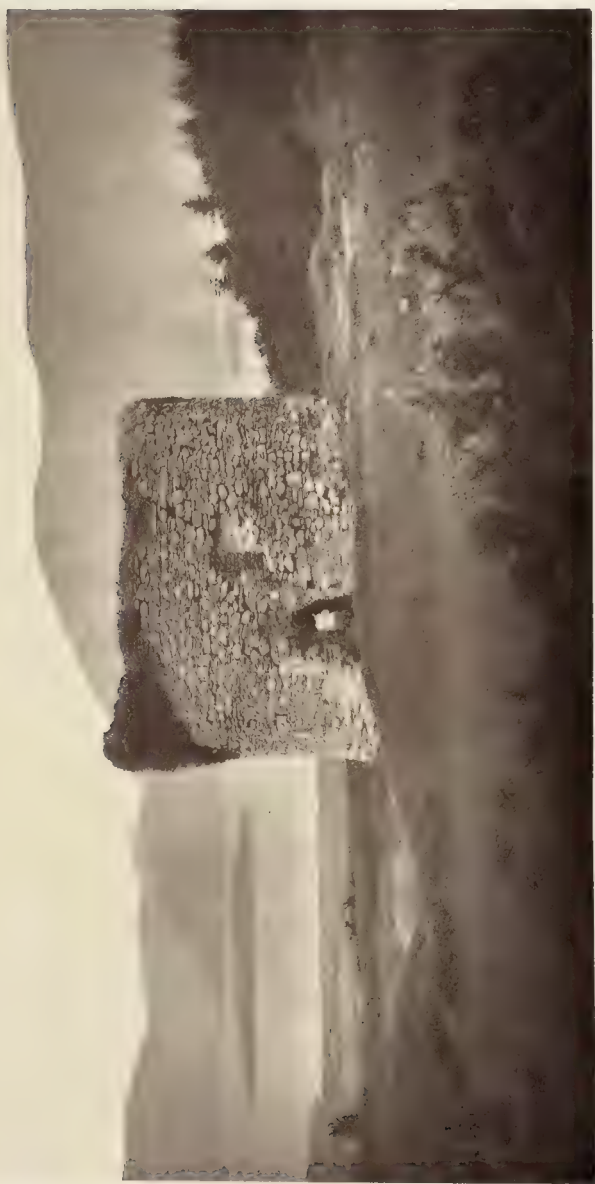
HISTORICAL NOTES ON AGHADOE.—The earliest mention of this church which has been found is that contained in the Annals of Inisfallen, at the year 992 (which answers to 1009 of the Four Masters), where it is related that "Maelsuthain hua Cerbaill, chief sage of Ireland, rested in Christ, ab Achud-deo." The Four Masters, in recording the death of this ecclesiastic, omit the place of his death: "Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, of the family of Inis-Faithlenn, chief doctor of the western world in his time, and Lord of Eoghanacht of Loch-Lein, died after a good life." At 1027, the Annals of Inisfallen record the "Repose of Moenach of Muccruma in Achuddeo." And again, at 1044, the following entry occurs: "Hua Cathail, king expectant of Eoganachta of Loch Lein, was taken from the Daimliac (stone church) of Achiddeo, and was slain afterwards." The Annals of Tighernach, as edited by O'Connor, place this event at 1061, "Ua Catail, king of Eoghanacht was taken from the damliag of Maenach, and was put to death." This is a curious entry, and seems to make Maenach, possibly the individual mentioned in the preceding extract, a patron and perhaps the first builder of a stone church here. "In 1158," says Dr. Lanigan, "the great church of Aghadoe in the now county of Kerry, was finished by Auliffe mór, of the territory called Na Cuimsionach, and son of Aongus O'Donoghue."² In 1177, McCarthy, who a few years before had submitted to Henry II., attempted resistance to that sovereign, who, in consequence, gave his territory to those two famous knights, Miles Cogan and Fitzstephen. They, having established themselves at Cork, soon after made an expedition as far as Aghadoe, where they remained two days and nights. In 1231, Aodh, son of Auliffe Mór O'Donoghue, i.e. son of the chieftain who had finished the church, as Lanigan says, died and was buried in the church

¹ I am informed by the Rev. James Graves that three such towers are known to exist in the County of Kilkenny, one in Waterford, and one in Wexford. It is probable that Lord Dunraven introduced this plate as illustrating the difference between the masonry of the circular towers built at first by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, and those of the native architects.—Ed.

² Dr. Lanigan refers to the Annals of Innisfallen as his authority for this statement, but the best copy, in fact the original of these annals, has an hiatus from 1114 to 1159; it is the Bodleian copy published in O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* Some other copies reduce the hiatus, but do not, so far as we have seen, supply this entry for 1158. It seems probable that Lanigan's reference is a mistake, yet, as he is in general so conscientious a writer, and here had no motive but to show what little was known of an obscure bishopric, his statement may be taken. The same writer adds: "The history of the See of Aghadoe is exceedingly obscure; and I am not able to determine whether it existed or not at this time. It is probable that it rose from the Monastery of Inisfallen, but when I cannot tell. Smith says (*History of Kerry*, p. 147), that its cathedral was dedicated to St. Finan. This was the St. Finan, surnamed the leper, who founded the Monastery of Inisfallen." (See Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 168, 169, 170.)







of Aghadoe. In the ecclesiastical Taxation of 1306, this church is only noticed as the head of an Archdeaconry, "Archidiaconatus de Hacudeo." The Four Masters have no mention of this place till 1581, where they write the name *Achadh-da-eo*.

We have no record of any bishop of Aghadoe; nor is the see mentioned at either of the synods which shortly before the English invasion extinguished some of the sees and settled the rest. It is known as a bishop's see only in union with the see of Ardfert. The bishops of that place, after the twelfth century, were styled bishops of Ardfert and Aghadoe until the union of Ardfert with Limerick in 1663, after which the bishops were styled after all three places.¹

CLOICTHECH EANACH-DUIN.

BELFRY OF ANNADOWN, COUNTY OF GALWAY.

PLATE LXXXIV.



HIS belfry is situated in the parish of Kilcoona in the barony of Clare and county of Galway, on the main road from Galway to Headford. The parish in which it stands is situated in the diocese of Annadown, three miles from the ruins now so called. The tower stands a few paces to the south-west of the ruined church of St. Cuanna. Although it is now only 7 or 8 ft. in height, it is the finest base of any round tower that I have seen. It springs from two plinths which project about 8 or 9 in. and are 9 or 10 in. high. The lower course is 2 ft. 2 in. high, the next 1 ft. 6 in., one of the stones being nearly 5 ft. long. The masonry is rough ashlar.

It has been shown by Sir William Wilde that this belfry may probably be identified with the Cloicthech Eanachduin or belfry of Annadown, mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters. This, he observes, "is the latest notice of the erection of a Cloicthech, bell-house or round tower in Ireland, and antiquaries have anxiously sought for the building referred to; but," he adds, "after a vigorous scrutiny on several occasions, we have not been able to discover the slightest vestige of any such structure in or about the ruins of Annadown." He therefore concludes that the Annalists referred to this Cloicthech in the diocese of Annadown in the following entry:—"A.D. 1238. The Cloicthech of Annadown was erected" (see Ann. Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 297).

¹ See Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xvi. New Series, part i. p. 409.

CLOICTHECH DISERT TOLA.

BELFRY OF DISERT O'DEA, COUNTY OF CLARE.

PLATE LXXXV.



HIS belfry is situated in the parish of Dromore and barony of Inchiquin, in the county of Clare, six miles to the north of Ennis on the road to Corofin. The tower appears to be a building of earlier date than the church, and this idea is corroborated by the fact that the door of the tower does not face that of the church, as is generally the case when the buildings are contemporaneous. The church doorway is in the south wall of the building, while the tower stands within 7 feet of the north-west angle of the church. The masonry is of ordinary-sized stones and in irregular courses. The top of this tower with the greater part of one side is broken away; the present height is 50 ft.; it is 61 ft. in circumference, and its internal diameter is 10 ft. 2 in., while the wall is 5 ft. thick. There is a breach at the base of the door with inserted joints.

There is a striking feature in the construction of this tower which only occurs in the case of two other such belfries in Ireland, that of Ardmore in the county of Waterford and Killossy in Kildare. Instead of tapering gradually towards the top, diminution in size is marked by steps thus, each curved offset marking the position of, and as it were giving outward expression to, the successive stories within. In the other two instances named, these offsets are adorned with moulded string-courses, which fact increases their great resemblance to the Campanili at Ravenna.

The doorway is at the height of 13 ft. from the ground; it is round-headed, with inclined sides, and measures 5 ft. 10 in. in height, 2 ft. 10 in. in width at the top, and 3 ft. at the base. The door has a reveal in the inner side, which is 6 in. wide, and 3 in. deep. The stones which form the jambs of the door extend the full thickness of the wall, and are well-worked limestone. Near the top of the tower there is a decided ogee Gothic window, only one side of which is left. I see no mark in the masonry of its being an insertion. There are appearances of horizontal stones

as for a roof; perhaps this tower was partly broken down and was used in the fourteenth



DOORWAY OF BELFRY, DISERT O'DEA.





or fifteenth century like that at Kilmallock, having a new summit added to it. Another circumstance favours this view: there is a small triangular-headed opening seen from the inside, which does not, now, extend through the wall; perhaps the wall was refaced outwardly and this aperture closed up. This opening is very near its present summit.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON DISERT O'DEA.—St. Tola, who founded this church, lived in the beginning of the eighth century; he died in the year 733 on the 30th of March, the day on which his anniversary was celebrated, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal. "Tola, Bishop of Disert Tola, in the upper part of Dál Cais, in Thomond. He was of the race of Corbmac, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum."

This saint must not be confounded with Tola of Ardbreacain in Meath, who died in the year 760. The Meath Tola was commemorated at a place likewise called Disert Tola, now called Disert-Taula, or Dysart, as in the Ordinance Survey, a townland in the parish of Killulagh, barony of Delvin, county of Westmeath. This place is noticed by the Four Masters at 970, 1010, 1034; and the successors of Tola at 975, 1010, 1028. This Tola had been bishop of Cluain-Iraird (Clonard), and died in 733.¹

The memory of St. Tola of Dal Cais in Thomond is still venerated, and pilgrimages are made to the well of this saint on the 30th of March. The name of the place was changed in the sixteenth century to Disert O'Dea, being called from a chieftain of the Kinel Fearmaic named Donell Moel O'Dea, who built a castle at a short distance to the north-west of St. Tola's church, the ruins of which are still standing.

CLOICTHECH AIRDE-MÓIRE.

BELFRY OF ARDMORE, COUNTY OF WATERFORD.

PLATES LXXXVI AND LXXXVII.



THIS belfry is situated in the parish of Ardmore, in the barony of Decies and county of Waterford.

This is the most remarkable tower I have seen. It rises to a height of 95 ft., has a conical roof, and is nearly perfect. Last year the cap-stone fell down, and only half of it is now preserved, of which this is a section, see fig. *a*; it is about 2 ft. high and is semicircular, 1 ft. 8 in. in diameter; the other half must have been split off. There is a projection near the top of the tower, which must be artificial, but it is now so worn that it is impossible to know what its design was.



¹ See Ann. Four Mast., vol. ii. p. 1191. Addenda.

The masonry is of the best description, fine jointed, well dressed, and square ashlar of reddish grey sandstone inside and outside. In the upper portion the joints are wider than below: this may be caused by the wearing of the edges of the stones, owing to the loss of mortar in the places most exposed to the weather. The courses vary in thickness from 6 to 10 in.

O'Donovan describes the wall as only 3 ft. 4½ in. in thickness, which, he observes, is less than that of any tower he had hitherto met with. The diameter of the tower at the level of the floor on the inside is 9 ft. 5 in., and it gradually lessens towards the top. The tower at the base measures 52 ft. in circumference externally. It is divided into four portions, the wall not diminishing in a continuous line from bottom to top, as is usual, but having three slight offsets, each of these being marked by bands, which are half rounds, the tower diminishing in size from 4 to 6 in. at each; these external bands mark three of the stories within. The tower stands on a very slightly projecting double plinth course, the lower course of which is of rough,—the upper, of wrought stone.

The doorway stands at a height of 13 ft. from the ground; it faces east-north-east, and is round-headed with inclined sides; it measures 5 ft. 10 in. in height, 2 ft. 2 in. wide at the base, 1 ft. 10 in. at the springing of the arch, and 3 ft. 4 in. in depth. The doorway is likewise surrounded by a moulding, of which I give a section; this moulding is carried under the cill as well as round the arch, which is an Irish peculiarity. It should also be noticed that this cill is formed of a very long stone. Inside there were four stones projecting 6 in. or 8 in., with square mortices, one of which is now broken, measuring 3½ in. by 3 in., for receiving bolts by which to secure the door, and a part of an iron gudgeon may still be seen in one of the stones in the inner corner of the doorway.



The upper windows face about west-north-west, and east-south-east. In the top story immediately under the conical roof there are four larger windows with inclined jambs; the one on the south side is square-headed both inside and outside, and the other three are triangular-headed outside, but round or shouldered within the thickness of the wall. One of these windows is 2 ft. 5 in. high. A remarkable feature exists in two of these windows: in the interior the front of the arch is broken; this only extends about 6 in. outwards, then in the next stones the arch is complete, and behind this second arch rises the external triangular head of the window. As this happens in two cases, it can hardly arise from accident, or from the stone breaking. Here the wall is 2 ft. 8 in. thick; the height of these windows is 4 ft. to the top of the arch, the triangular-headed windows are about 8 or 9 in. higher.

This tower is fully floored in the old places, the joists resting on the offsets; in the





second story, that is, the one above the story in which the door is placed, the window is square, 1 ft. 7 in. high, and 1 ft. wide, and the jambs are vertical. In the third story the window is also square, 2 ft. 1 in. high, and 1 ft. 2 in. wide, jambs vertical, and 2 ft. 10 in. deep. In the fourth story the window is round-headed, and 8 in. broad, and faces to the south.

The height from the door to the level of the floor inside is about 8 ft. On this story there are several projecting stones at a height of about 9 or 10 ft. above the floor; these corbels are carved, one representing a human head, others animal heads, and another a spiral design. There are also heads on projecting stones in the other stories, but they are fewer, and having no light, I could not examine them. O'Donovan states that when he



BELFRY OF ARDMORE.

visited this tower there were bars of iron placed across exactly under the conical roof, from which the bells were hung, and which were held by tradition to have been there since the time of St. Declan.

The tower stands about thirty yards south of the nave of the church, on the east side, and its doorway faces the cell of St. Declan, which is about forty yards off. These buildings have been already described in the *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland*, which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 17, new series, part ii., and in the work lately published by Mr. Brash on the *Eccl. Architecture of Ireland*, p. 113.

"The architectural history of the church is tolerably clear. The earliest portion is that already mentioned at the west end of the choir. This is of the same character as the oratory of St. Declan, and no doubt of the same date. From the veneration in which these early buildings were held in Ireland, it seems to have been the almost universal custom to retain some portion of them where practicable, and this portion was always retained whatever alteration the church might undergo. It seems probable that another church was built in the twelfth century, of which the lower part of the west end is a portion; and that this was in its turn mostly rebuilt and its chancel lengthened by Moelettrim at the end of the twelfth century."¹

HISTORICAL NOTES ON ARDMORE.—The church at Ardmore was founded by St. Declan, whose memory is venerated on the 24th of July, at which date he is thus commemorated in the "Martyrology of Donegal," p. 201 :—

Declan, of Ard-mór, son of Erc, son of Maicniadh, Bishop and Confessor. He was of the race of Eochaidh Finn Fuathairt, from whom Bright descended, and Deitsin was the name of his mother. Colmán, a holy bishop, baptized him. On one occasion, as he was coming from Rome, he forgot a bell (which had been sent him from heaven) upon a rock which was in the port, and the rock swam after him, so that it arrived before the ship in Erin, and Declan said that where the rock should touch land, there God would permit him to erect a church, and this was afterwards fulfilled. This church is situated in Déisi of Munster, where he performed many signs and miracles.

The name of Declan occurs among those of the ecclesiastics said by Ussher and Ware to have been precursors or forerunners of St. Patrick² in the fifth century. This, however, must be a mistake, since he was a contemporary of Ailbe, who died in 527, or according to another date 541.³ He is described as travelling to Rome when he was consecrated a bishop, and he there first met Ailbe, with whom he contracted a firm friendship, and they separated with the kiss of peace. On his return to his native country, he devoted himself especially to the conversion of his own tribe, in Déisi of Munster; he also visited his birthplace near Lismore, and paid a second visit to Rome. On his homeward journey he stopped at Killmuine or Menevia, and remained forty days with St. David. On his voyage to Ireland, as is related in the Life of Declan, c. iv. n. 32, he was miraculously guided to a spot called Ard-na-gcaorach, "the hill of the sheep," *altitudo ovium*, but to which he afterwards gave the name of Ard-mór, "the great hill or height," which it still retains; and here he fixed his church and monastery.⁴

"It is probable that the foundation thus established went on increasing in importance

¹ See Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xvii. new series, part ii.

² Ussher Primord. p. 782; Ware, Antiq. vol. i. p. 10. Vit. S. Declani, cap. i. Actt. SS. Bolland, tom. v. Julii, p. 394.

³ See Todd's St. Patrick, Introd. p. 218.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 211.

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and reputation, though we find no mention of it in the Annals until 1170, when it had been advanced to be a bishopric, as we discover in that year that the Bishop of Ardmore swore fealty to Henry II., and in 1174, Eugene, Bishop of Ardmore, is a subscriber to the charter granted to the monastery of St. Finbar at Cork, by Dermot, King of Munster. Soon after the arrival of the English, the bishopric of Ardmore was united with that of Lismore, though it is not recorded whether this took place in the latter part of the twelfth or the commencement of the thirteenth century. Bishop Eugene wrote a Life of St. Cuthbert, in which he incidentally mentions Ardmore as the place where 'Declan magnificently rests;' but whether he intended to say that he rested in his own oratory, or in a tomb in the more modern cathedral, it is not possible to guess. It is natural to suppose, and this extract seems to confirm the supposition, that the church must before this time have been enlarged, to meet the increased importance of the place. This would probably be in the twelfth century. This in its turn, as was the universal custom when a church increased in reputation and funds were forthcoming, would be wholly or in part swept away, rebuilt, or enlarged according to circumstances; and this we find was the case in this church, for it is recorded in the Annals of Innisfallen, 1203, that Maeletrim O'Duibhe-eathra, the reverend priest of Ardmore, died after he had ordered and finished the church of Ardmore. This, no doubt, is the date of the chief part of the present church—that is, the end of the twelfth century. This priest is said to have been Bishop of Ardmore when he died, but this is not certain."¹

TEMPŪL CHAIMHGHN.

ST. KEVIN'S CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH.

PLATE LXXXVIII.

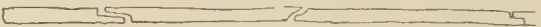


HIS appears to be the most perfect as well as the oldest existing instance of the round belfry attached to the church, and evidently coeval with it. The remains of several such buildings still exist in Ireland, besides which similar ones have been found in the Orkney islands to be hereafter noticed.

The steeple of this little church is 4 ft. wide at the top. The tower rises 9 ft. above the ridge of the roof of the church from which it springs. There are four apertures at the top like windows, which must have been for giving free egress to the sound of the

¹ See Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xvii., New Series, part ii. The writer here apparently quotes from Archdall, (see Archd. Mon. Hib. v. 11, p. 684) who refers to these annals under the name "Annals of Munster." The editor cannot find this entry in any Dublin copy of the annals of Innisfallen.

bell. Three holes are still visible, pierced through the barrel vault which forms the roof of the nave directly under the tower, which were evidently for the passage of the bell ropes. The conical roof of this belfry is still perfect. A regular barrel vault forms the ceiling to the church, on which the exterior straight-sided roof is raised (see fig. 18, plate facing p. 68, vol. i.), the stones of the outer roof projecting one beyond the other till they meet at the apex, as in the case of the earlier oratories, the curve of which leaves a hollow space or croft in the upper part of the roof, with the back of the vault for a floor and the sloping walls of the roof for sides. This little chamber is about 5 ft. high by 5 ft. wide, lighted at the east end by a small window, while at the west it opens to the belfry. Access is attained to this croft, as is usually the case in such buildings, through a hole in the vault.

This church is altogether the most curious building at Glendalough. It consisted of nave and chancel; the latter is now destroyed. There is a sacristy on the north side. The nave measures 23 ft. in length by 15 ft. wide, and the walls are 3 ft. 6 in. thick; they are of large rubble masonry, hammer-dressed, and formed of a mixture of granite and mica slate, and they appear to have been dashed although the gable was not so; this portion of the building is of different masonry from the walls of the nave. There is a curious cornice or water-table running entirely round the building, which projects 5 in. and is 1 in. thick, formed of a rough round moulding on the west side, the stones are joggled thus.  Both nave and chancel were 9 ft. high to the roof and 20 ft. to the ridges. The west door measures 2 ft. 9 in. wide at the base, and 2 ft. 9 in. at the top; its height is 7 ft. 2 in. The lintel measures 5 ft. 9 in. in length and 1 ft. in height. There is a round arch over the lintel, as in the doorway of the neighbouring cathedral and of Britway in the county of Cork. The lintel has a projecting ledge outside, with two circular mortices or holes 2 in. in diameter, and underneath there is a hole 1 in. in the cill flag; this contrivance was probably for securing the door, slung like a shutter from the lintel. The projection is 6 in. deep and the projecting part 9 in. high.

There are two windows in the east wall. The upper one is square headed, the lower one is round arched, the arch being scooped out of one stone. The internal arch of this window has well-cut granite voussoirs separated by undressed voussoirs of mica slate; it is about 3 ft. 6 in. wide internally and about 1 ft. externally. The chancel arch was opened through the east wall, cutting the old east window in half, the rest of which was then blocked up. It measured 9 ft. in height and 5 ft. in width.

Petrie says that the chancel was 11 ft. 3 in. long, 9 ft. 3 in. wide, and was lighted by two round-headed windows, the arch being scooped out of single stones, one in the east and the other in the south wall, the latter being 2 ft. 3 in. in height and 8 in. wide. The



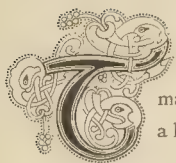
chancel had a roof of stone, the same pitch as the nave. The sacristy had a barrel vault, but the stone roof is ruined; its wall is not bonded in to the nave. There is a little round-headed window, an engraving of which may be seen in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, vol. xvi. The arch is scooped out of a single stone, the jambs are vertical, and it is $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide outside, and 2 ft. 7 in. wide inside; it is 2 ft. high externally. This sacristy measures 10 ft. by 8, and the walls are 2 ft. 7 in. thick. In both buildings the walls are 9 ft. high to the beginning of the roof, and 20 ft. to the ridges.

The roof is very high pitched and composed of oblong flags from 4 to 10 in. thick, and from 10 in. to 3 ft. in length; these slabs are dressed on the upper and lower beds and face to the slope of the roof; they are closely jointed and in fine preservation excepting the ridge stone, which has disappeared. We learn from the "*Annals of the Four Masters*" that in the twelfth century, as Dr. Petrie remarks, "this building was known by the appellation of Cro Caoimghin or St. Kevin's House." The passage is as follows: "A. D. 1163, Glendalough was burned, with Cro Ciarain, Cro Caoimghin, and the church of the two Sinchells."

CLOICTHECH TEAMPUIL FINGHIN.

BELFRY OF ST. FINAN'S CHURCH.

PLATES LXXXIX AND XC.



HIS belfry and the church to which it is attached are situated at Clonmacnois, in the barony of Garrycastle in the King's county. It rises to a height of 56 ft. and is 49 ft. in circumference, while the wall is 3 ft. thick.

This is the most interesting monument at Clonmacnois; the tower is, I think, built of sandstone, although the writer on Irish architecture in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, vol. xvii. says it is of the hard limestone of the country. The masonry is ashlar but not so fine jointed as that of O'Rorke's tower. Petrie describes the masonry in the following words: "This tower as well as the church with which it is connected is wholly built of ashlar masonry of a fine sandstone laid in horizontal courses, and is of unusually small size." In the interior may be seen rests for five floors, each story as usual being lighted by a small aperture; the upper story is singular in having only two openings, one facing the north and the other the south.

There is a striking feature in the construction of the conical roof, which is that the

masonry is of herring-bone ashlar, and this is the only tower in Ireland in which such work occurs. The lower windows of this tower are round headed, the others square-topped with a round head slightly recessed over each. This recess or reveal in the upper windows differs in character from that seen in such apertures in the other towers.

This belfry joins on to the chancel arch of St. Finan's church. The masonry of the chancel, which is still standing, is not quite so regular as that of the tower. The chancel arch is a beautiful example of the ornamented Irish Romanesque: it is of three orders; the first is an insertion of the 15th century, the second has banded shafts, the bands being heads, which are of a similar character to those in the Nun's church near. The capitals are an Irish variety of the scalloped capital, and the arches are decorated with a chevron in low relief. The nave of this church has fallen, but the base of the south door has been recently laid bare, and its character is quite the same as that of the chancel arch.

A question has been raised as to whether the church and tower are cotemporaneous, or whether the tower is the oldest and was at first an isolated building to which the church was afterwards added; but the more closely the construction of both is examined the more clearly they are seen to form part of the same work. The Rev. James Graves, when describing the works carried on at Clonmacnois under his inspection for the preservation of the ancient monuments in the year 1865, states¹ that on laying bare the base course of the tower and following the south wall of the body of the church from its junction with the tower, they found the church and tower to have been here, as at other points, bonded into each other, and the masonry to be identically the same in both buildings. Again, had the tower ever been isolated there would probably have been a doorway at the usual height from the level of the ground, but there is no trace in the masonry of the wall of any such aperture having existed. The only door to the tower is that on the ground-floor, which communicates with the church, and the same tooling or chisel marks are observable on the side opposite the door from the church as on the side next it. The lower window of the tower and east window of the church have much the same character.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON ST. FINAN'S CHURCH.—The history of this church has already been discussed by Dr. Petrie, and he rejects the theory of Sir James Ware, grounded on a statement in the Registry of Clonmacnois, that the church was built in the thirteenth century, and named after a chieftain called Fineen Mac Carthy Mór. He proves that, on the contrary, so early as the year 1013, a church was in existence at Clonmacnois which bore

¹ See Letter published in *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, vol. xvii. p. 699.







the name of St. Finghin, a saint of the primitive Irish church, to whom it was dedicated. The passage is as follows:—

"A. D. 1015, A great wind [storm occurred] in the autumn of this year, the like or similitude of which had not been found [observed] at this time, by which was prostrated the great oak of Regles Finghin at Clonmacnois."

From this passage it would appear that there was a church here in the year 1015. In the twelfth or thirteenth century it became the cemetery of the Mc Carthy family.

DRUIM-CLIABH.

DRUMCLIFF CROSS AND BELFRY, COUNTY OF SLIGO.

PLATE XCI.



DRUMCLIFF is situated in the barony of Carbury and county of Sligo. The round tower, which now rises to a height of but 40 ft., is of plain masonry in irregular courses, no cut or rounded stones being used. On the west side there is a double plinth course, each step here projecting 10 in., but on the east side the lower step scarcely projects beyond the upper. The wall is cracked in three places, and a great part of this tower was demolished for the erection of a bridge in the neighbourhood. The door is 8 ft. above the ground; it has a lintel stone 3 ft. 6 in. long, the top of which is curved, but I think that a stone was chosen which was naturally so formed; the door measures 5 ft. 2 in. high, 1 ft. 2 in. wide at the base and 1 ft. 8 in. at the top; there is no trace of any window in the ruin.

According to tradition the church to which this belfry belonged was very old. It stood at a few yards from the round tower. There are two fine crosses standing near, one of which forms the principal feature in Plate XCI. The other is without ornament. Mr. O'Neil, in his work on the Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland, page 31, gives a full description of the sculptures on this monument. It is of hard sandstone containing a large proportion of quartz, close grained and difficult to cut. The base appears unfinished; it is 13 ft. high, 3 ft. 8 in. wide at the cross arms, nearly a foot thick, tapering to 2 in. less at top. On the east side there is at the bottom an interlaced ornament, above which stand the figures of Adam and Eve divided by the tree round which the serpent winds; Eve holds the apple in her right hand. The tree branches form an interlaced ornament. Above the tree is a lion-like animal carved in high relief, over which is a representation apparently of David and Goliath. Over

this is seen a figure of a man with two animals erect on their hind legs, one at each side. The carving in the centre of the head of the cross is very much effaced, but the subject appears to be the Last Judgment.

On the west side an interlaced ornament is seen at the bottom, above which is a group of three figures standing; above these a strange animal is carved in high relief, over which again stand three figures. These are supposed to indicate the seizure of Christ in the garden, and the Ecce Homo. Next above these, in the centre of the head of the cross, is the Crucifixion, with lance and sponge; the four portions of the circle which connects the arms are covered with interlaced designs as well as the rest of the cross.



DRUMCLIFF.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON DRUMCLIFF.—*Druim-cliabh*, "Ridge of the baskets," in the barony of Carbury, county of Sligo, is a place of great antiquity, and was of such importance that it gave to the territory in which it was situated the distinctive title of "*Cairbre of Drumcliff*." Mention is made of it in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, p. 430, as a place which he passed when on his road from Killespugbrone to the neighbourhood of Ballyshannon. It was intimately connected with the history of St. Columba, first as lying near Culdrevny, where the battle was fought in which the saint took such an active part, and afterwards as having a church of which he was the patron saint.¹ The site was granted to St. Columba by Aedh, son of Ainmire, king of Ireland, about the year 575, and it is mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, page 151, as one of the churches founded by him; and again it is stated at page 165 of the same work that

¹ See Reeves's *Adamnan*, pp. 279, 289.





PART IV.—IRISH ROMANESQUE.

SECTION I.—BUILDINGS WITH DOUBLE STONE ROOFS.

TECH CHOLUIM-CILLE.

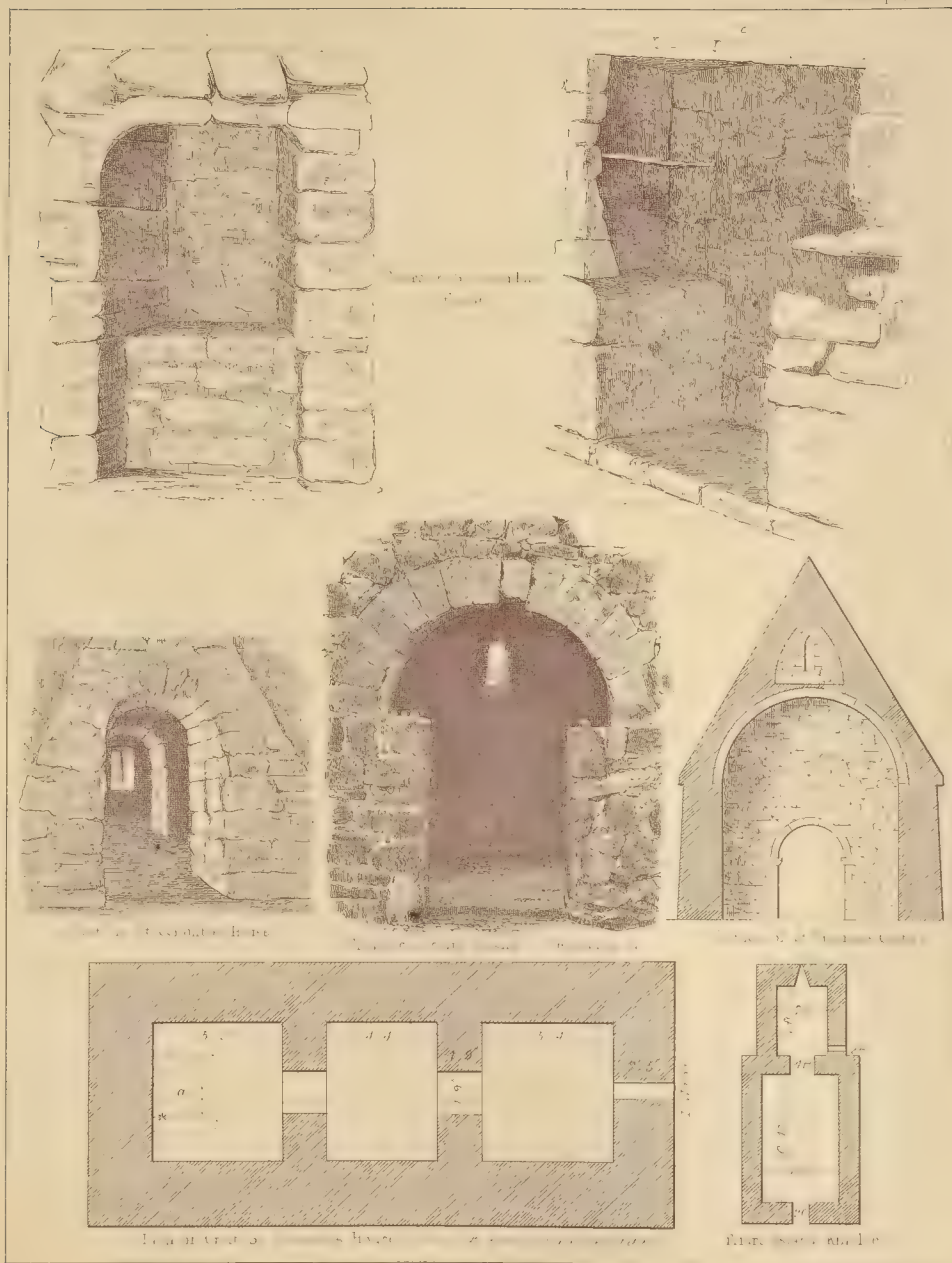
ST. COLUM-CILLE'S HOUSE.

PLATE XCII.



HIS building is situated outside the town of Kells in the north-west of the county of Meath. It is divided into three stories, the lowest of which appears to have been an oratory, the middle one a refectory, and the upper a croft between the barrel vault, on which the steep roof rested, and the top of the roof itself. This latter was divided into three chambers, and appears to have served the purpose of a dormitory (see plate facing page 50, figs. 3 and 4). The building is internally 19 ft. long by 15 ft. 5 in. wide, and the walls are 3 ft. 10 in. thick. The height inside to the crown of the vault is 23 ft. The walls rise from a plinth course, and the masonry is plain rubble, while the building is quite devoid of ornament of any kind. It is covered by a stone roof of steep pitch, carried by a semicircular barrel-vault built with a rude approximation to a radiating arch, and not laid horizontally as in the arch in the small church on Friar's Island, near Killaloe. The building is so thickly covered with ivy that the angle of the roof cannot be very satisfactorily measured, but it seems to be about 65°, which is much the same as that of St. Flannan's, Killaloe, Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, and St. Kevin's Church, Glendalough. The vault is 2 ft. thick.¹ The west door is built up; it was 8 ft. from the present level of the ground. Nothing remains but portions of the

¹ A detailed account of the construction of this roof will be found in the Introduction, vol. i. page xix.



COLUMBUS'S HOUSE KILLS



P. 100
TECH CHOLVIN-CILLE

jambs and door cill. A door has been opened in the east wall, and since blocked up. The present door is in the south wall. The east window is round-headed. The inner arch is of hammered stone, but so covered with turf-soot that one cannot examine it. It is 4 ft. 11 in. high by 2 ft. 9 in. and 2 ft. 11 in. wide. The window externally is 2 ft. high and 10 in. wide at base and 9 in. at the top. The cill is 10 ft. above the ground. There is a small triangular-headed south window at the same height from the floor. It is 3 ft. 9 in. to the top of the arch, 2 ft. 5 in. to the top of the jambs, 1 ft. 8 in. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 7 in. at the springing of the arch; both windows have a wide internal splay. In the crown of the arched roof at the west end there is a square hole about 2 ft. long by 1 ft. 6 in. broad, through which access was gained to the upper rooms. There is a small square-headed window just below this which is covered with ivy outside. The three rooms in the upper chamber in the roof measure 6 ft. 3 in. in height. The western chamber is 5 ft. 3 in. in length; the central, 4 ft. 4 in.; the eastern, 5 ft. 4 in.; and the partition walls are 1 ft. 9 in. thick (see fig. 4, plate facing page 50). These chambers are all entered by round-arched doors formed of rough stone voussoirs. These are 3 ft. 3 in. high, 1 ft. 9 in. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 6 in. at the springing of the arch.

The angle from the floor to the roof is about 1 ft. 3 in. to 6 ft. There is no place externally where the stones of the roof are visible. There is a small window in the eastern room which is round-headed externally and square inside. This window is not shown in the plate, being quite concealed from below by ivy.

The present mode of access to this portion of the building is by climbing up the wall and roof outside, clinging to the ivy and grass with which it is covered, and letting yourself down through a hole made in the ridge, which is about 16 in. in width.¹

¹ Lord Dunraven's further observation of this curious building was prevented by a severe injury sustained from a fall he received while thus entering this chamber, and the editor therefore begs to add a few additional notes in order to complete the description left unfinished by Lord Dunraven, of the oratory on the ground floor of the building. She visited this place some years before in company with the Rev. Dr. Todd and Dr. Acland of Oxford; and, while all these notes are only her memoranda of what Dr. Todd observed, the illustrations of the interior of the upper floor are from drawings made then by Dr. Acland.

Mr. Wakeman in a letter to Lord Dunraven, dated August 31st, 1866, calls his attention to a curious hook-shaped stone projecting from the wall at the east end of the upper chamber in the interior. He also observed two such stones inside Devenish Round Tower, one on the second, the other on the third story.

"The roof is constructed on the overlaid principle of cubical and rectangular blocks of stone laid to the slope of the roof, breaking joint, and bedded at an angle, to exclude moisture—the whole appearing quite sound, except where injured by ivy and other vegetation displacing the stones. The general masonry is of a superior class of rubble, the quoins and other dressings being squared with the chisel. The building is constructed of the hard whinstone of the country."—BRASH, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 12.

The chamber on the first floor would seem to have been the chapel, and a singular resemblance may be perceived in the arrangement of this chamber to that of some of the chapels found in the catacombs of Rome, the altar having been placed in the centre of the floor between the priest and the people. A square space in the centre of the ground floor in this chapel of Columba's House marks the place for the altar, while at the end, and built into the wall, may be seen the priest's stone seat facing the altar (see plate facing p. 50, fig. 1). Fig. 2 shows the second seat turned sideways to the wall where the assistant priest sat. This lower chamber was evidently the crypt, for the original doorway is on a level with the central story of the building.

The history of the ecclesiastical establishment to which this building belonged has been already noticed at page 21 of this volume.



CELL MAELCÉDAIR.

KILMALKEDAR, COUNTY OF KERRY.

PLATES XCIII. XCIV. XCV. AND XCVI.

CELL MAELCÉDAIR is situated in the townland of the same name, barony of Corcaguiny and county of Kerry. This beautiful and very interesting church is most instructive; it consists of nave and chancel. The nave measures 27 ft. 4 in. in length, and 17 ft. in width; and its walls are 3 ft. 7 in. thick, and 12 ft. high at the N.W. angle.

The chancel is 16 ft. long and 11 ft. 3 in. wide, while the walls are 2 ft. 9 in. thick; they are built of blocks of freestone, well laid and grouted, while those of the nave are in irregular courses with quoins of dressed stone. There are corner pilasters at the east and west ends of the building, which incline with the batter of the side walls, and are continued up into the gable for some feet, recalling the pilasters seen in the small oratory on Inis-mac-dara, where these projections are continued to the apex of the gable.¹

There appears to have been a remarkably high-pitched stone roof, probably of the

¹ See Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture* (Trans. R. I. A.), vol. xx. pp. 188, 189.











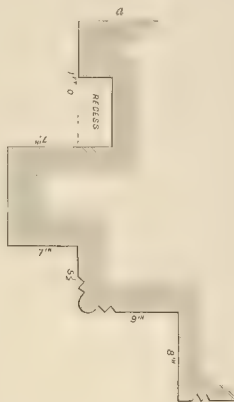






same construction as that described as belonging to the last-mentioned building, although I can see no appearance of there having been a croft between the outer roof and the barrel vault. If the roof of the nave were of this nature, it would account for the great thickness of the walls. [Mr. Brash, who appears to have examined it very closely, states that portions of the stone roof still exist for a height of from 3 ft. to 5 ft. from the eaves, "both in nave and chancel; it was constructed of rectangular flat-bedded blocks of stone, neatly dressed, and laid breaking joint."¹ A bold string-course runs along the eave, terminating with animals' heads at the corners. On the summit of the west gable the same curious finial was placed that has already been described in the account given of the ruins at Leaba Molaga and the well of Toher na dru near Freshford.]

The west door is of two orders of jamb shafts springing from richly moulded but shallow bases, and crowned by plain capitals (see fig. *a*). It is surmounted by a plain stone slab and two orders of round arches with a boldly projecting label enriched with pellet mouldings and carved heads.



INTERIOR OF DOORWAY KILMALKEDAR.

¹ Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 99.

(see fig. *b.*). The outer order has incised chevrons, and the inner the ordinary dog-tooth moulding. The true height to the tympanum is about 6 ft. 6 in., and the tympanum is 2 ft. high. The aperture measures 3 ft. 5 in. wide at the base, and 2 ft. 11 in. at the top of the jambs. On the inside of the lintel an animal's head is carved in bold relief, the rest of the face of the block being cut away to obtain it. A human head is carved at the apex of the label which runs round the arch on the outside. This is held by tradition to represent the patron saint of the church.

The windows of this church are singularly plain as compared with the other richly decorated features of the building. The east window is of chiselled freestone, round-headed, and with vertical jambs. It measures 5 ft. 10 in. high by 8 in. wide on the outside, while inside it splays to a width of 4 ft. 8 in. There is no dripstone. Inside, each jamb is crowned by an animal's head bearing a strong resemblance to those heads seen in Cormac's Chapel at Cashel. In the south-east corner of the chancel there is a small round-headed window, broken on the outside but perfect inside, where it measures 6 ft. 2 in. high, and 4 ft. 9 in. wide. In the nave the windows in the north and south walls are placed opposite each other, at a distance of 6 ft. 1 in. from the wall which divides the chancel from the nave; they are also round-headed and formed of chiselled freestone with a slight chamfer and quite plain externally. The south window measures 1 ft. 9 in. high by 7 in. wide outside, and 4 ft. 3 in. high by 2 ft. 1 in. wide inside, while the north window is 4 ft. 5 in. high, 2 ft. 3½ in. wide at the bottom, and 2 ft. 2 in. at the springing of the arch. It appears to be the only window in the building with inclined sides.

The chancel arch is of three orders, it is at present 8 ft. 3 in. high, by 5 ft. 4 in. wide; but, as the ground is raised at least 2 ft. 6 in., this alters the proportion and general effect. The short pillars of the arch must have looked curious and very uncommon. They have ordinary plain scollop pattern capitals. The outer order has flat pellets, the inner the incised chevron. The ornament on the soffit is the one so common in late Norman work, and is the same as that on the soffit of one of the orders in the door of Kildare. There is one thing in the chancel which is perplexing. Immediately inside the arch are the remains of two small windows, one on each side [*vide* drawing and plans] slanting from a raised projection, which must have been 5 ft. above the level of the floor. There is a plain inner arch turned across, 2 ft. 6 in. deep, and the chancel orders being 1 ft. 6 in. makes 4 ft. Above there is a break in the chancel arch gable, as if a small gable had been bonded into the wall.

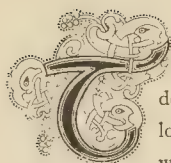
The only record known of the ancient history of this place has been already noticed at page 57 (vol. i.) of this work, where the earlier ecclesiastical remains in the neighbourhood are described. A pillar stone, which now stands at the side of the west door of

Kilmalkedar Church, is one of the most curious of the ancient monuments found here. It offers a well-preserved and most interesting example of the whole alphabet in the Roman character of the sixth or seventh century, above which is inscribed the invocation "Domine."¹

INIS CEALTRA.

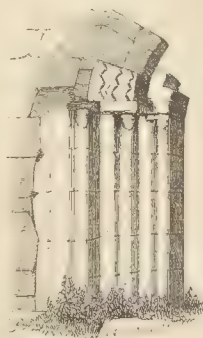
ST. CAIMIN'S CHURCH.

PLATES XCVII. AND XCVIII.



THIS church lies east-north-east of the belfry which has been already described (see page 3). It is divided into nave and chancel. The nave is 31 ft. long by 20 ft. broad. The chancel is 15 ft. long, by 12 ft. 6 in. wide, and the walls are 2 ft. 6 in. thick. The east wall of the chancel is quite gone. The masonry of the nave is in irregular courses with two faces and a kind of grouting between. The inside of these walls is plastered. The masonry of the east gable is square in character. The chancel walls are 8 ft. 6 in. high, and a small portion of the eave course, which is ornamented by large pellets on the under face, remains on the south wall. The masonry of the chancel is quite different from that of the nave, being very fine-jointed ashlar.

There are flat pilaster buttresses at the east and west ends of the nave; those at the west end are 2 ft. 7 in. wide, and 1 ft. 9 in. deep; those at the east are 2 ft. 11 in. wide. They are partly built of squared and rough hammered blocks of sandstone, and are 16 ft. high. The west door is nearly destroyed,² about 3 ft. of one jamb alone remaining; it is 2 ft. 10 in. wide at the base. It was of two orders; they were formed into engaged pilasters, at the top of each of which was a sculptured head carved on the face of the round, with no necking, and a plain impost moulding.

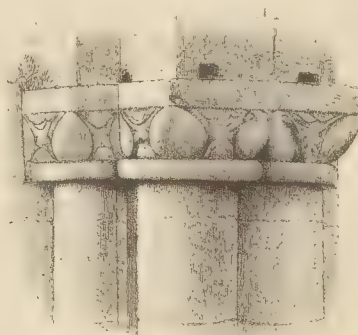


WEST DOORWAY, ST.
CAIMIN'S CHURCH.

¹ See Christian Inscriptions of Ireland, Petrie, vol. ii. page 7.

² The woodcut is taken from a drawing made by Dr. Petrie about the year 1838.

An incised chevron moulding ran round the face of the arch, while on one of the bases there is a sort of spiral or rope moulding, such as may be seen on the base of the door of Tempul Finghin at Clonmacnois. This cill is composed of a large block of limestone, and the door is clearly an insertion. There are two windows in the south wall of the nave, the eastern one is round-headed, 3 ft. from the chancel wall, it is an insertion; the little arch is cut out of one stone, externally it is 1 ft. 3 in. high, 11 in. wide at the base, and 10 in. at the springing of the arch; internally it is 5 ft. 2 in. high, 2 ft. 9 in. wide at the base, and 2 ft. 8 in. at the springing of the arch. The other window is not an insertion, and is 8 ft. to the west of the first, 5 ft. 6 in. from the ground, and 2 ft. 5½ in. high; 1 ft. 6 in. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 2 in. at the top, outside; while inside it is 3 ft. 10 in. high, 2 ft. 3 in. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 9 in. at the top. There is a kind of reveal in this window. The chancel arch is of fine cut stone; the arch being formed of three plain orders, the angles not rounded off; there are fine engaged shafts in the jambs, and the capitals are very

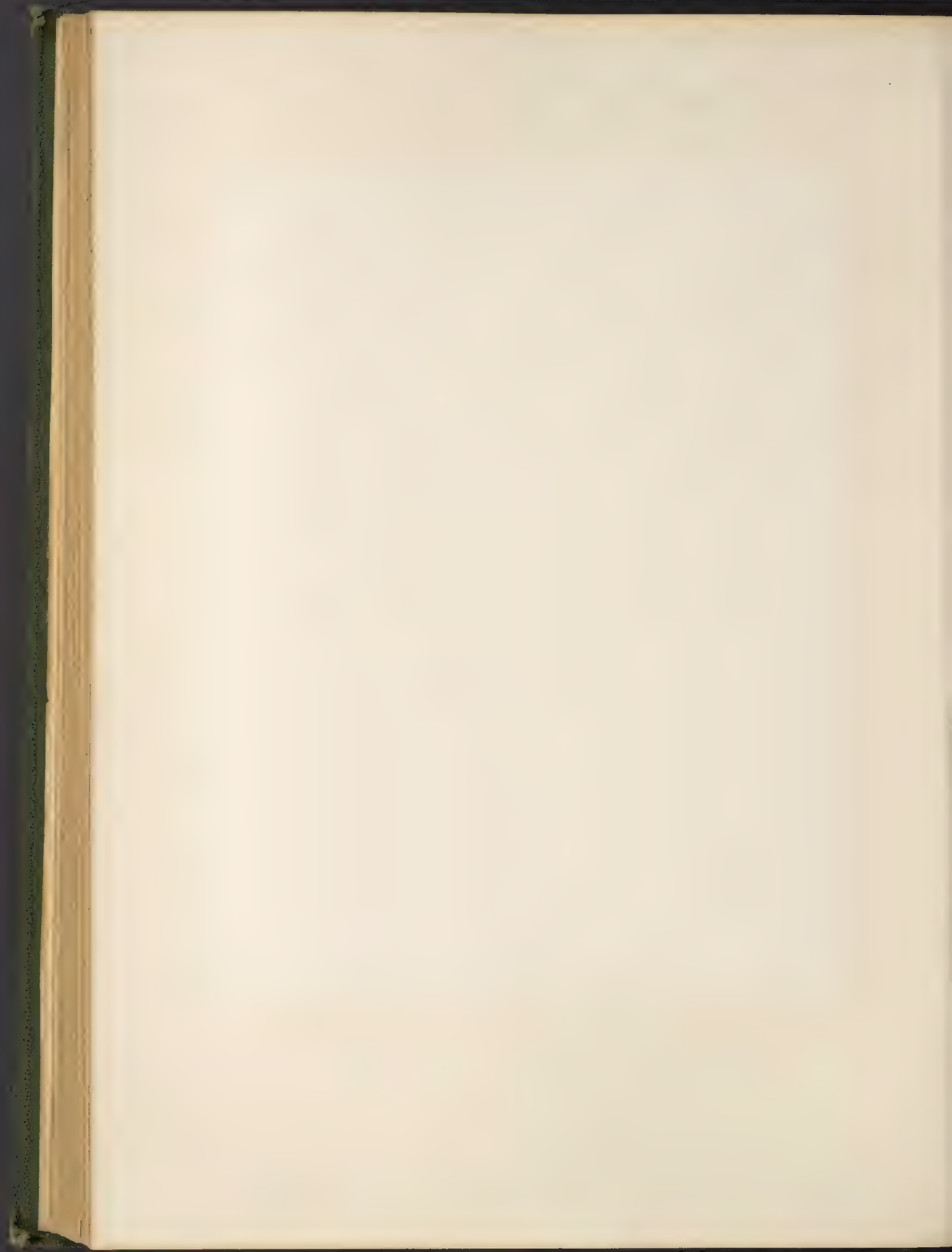


CAPITALS OF PILASTERS IN CHANCEL ARCH.

peculiar. This arch measures 10 ft. 2 in. in width at the bottom, and 9 ft. 11 in. at the top, of the jambs. The height is 5 ft. from the ground to the capitals; the ground has probably risen one foot or more from its original level. [Speaking of this portion of the building, the Rev. James Graves remarks, in a letter to the editor,—“This chancel arch is in my opinion decidedly earlier work than the dated example of Cormac's chapel, I should say fully a century earlier; that it is the work inserted by King Brian, I have no doubt. It presents none of the profuse surface ornament of twelfth century work, and the square-cut plain orders of the arch appear to be very early work, as well as the capitals.”]

At the west door there lies on the ground a bullaun or font, the hollow in which is 1 ft. wide and 6 in. deep, and the remains of a cashel or enclosing wall are to be seen at a







distance of 10 ft. from the chancel on the east ; it has an entrance formed of well-cut sandstone 3 ft. 6 in. wide. There are two stones of the round arch of this entrance lying near. They are of sandstone and as thick as the wall itself. The base of a cross may be seen about 30 ft. south-east of the chancel. It is inscribed, ILAD IN DEICHENBOIR, *i.e.* the stone tomb of the ten persons. The remains of a stone tomb are to be seen about 100 yards east of the church towards the shore of the lake ; one of the stones of which it is built is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long by 1 ft. thick. It has a narrow doorway of cut stone on the east side. The walls are broken down to a height of 2 ft. or 3 ft., and the dimensions are about 12 ft. 9 in. externally.

There is a large irregularly shaped earthen enclosure north-west of St. Caimin's church, separated by a sunken roadway from another enclosure to the west, somewhat smaller, in which are the foundations of a tomb 9 ft. square, with a door 2 ft. wide on the west side. It stands in a ruined enclosure of stone 13 yards square, which has an entrance between upright flags on the south side. Southward is another enclosure of earth extending nearly down to the large church and a small chapel on the south shore of the island. The other remains on this island consist of the round tower already described (see p. 3), and two churches, the first of which, called St. Mary's, is larger than that of St. Caimin, but it possesses no particular interest. It is not very early work, but probably belongs to the year 1195 or 1200. The west doorway is pointed, but of early character ; it is of one order cut in sandstone, with a shallow roll moulding running round it externally. It is certainly not later than the early thirteenth century pointed work of Jerpoint Abbey. There is a curious late flat-headed doorway in the north wall ; it has inclined sides, measuring 5 ft. at the bottom, 4 ft. 6 in. at the top, and is 6 ft. high. The lintel is of one rather thin slab. This doorway has been for many centuries built up, and is obliterated internally. There is a curious reduction in the thickness of the south wall at the east end, probably contemporary with the building of the church. The masonry is uncoursed rubble, and the stones are not remarkable for size. Fig. *a* represents a portion of a tombstone of the O'Quin family, probably of Muintir Iffearnain, in the county of Clare, from which the present Earl of Dunraven is sprung. The inscription *Or do* Chunn signifies Pray for Conn—gen. sing. Cuinn, anglicè, Quin.

The ruins of another smaller church, dedicated to St. Michael, are to be seen in an

FIG. *a*.

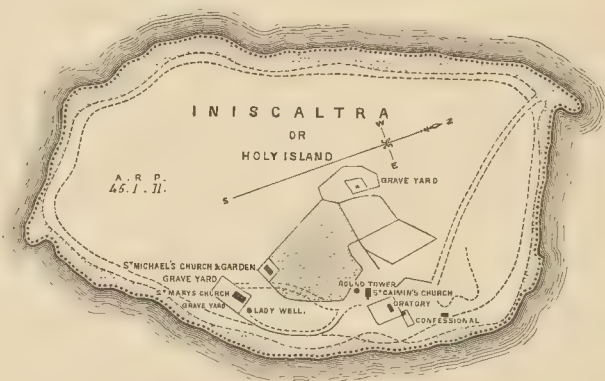


PORTION OF INSCRIBED STONE,
INISCEALTRA.

enclosure near at hand. It has no chancel, and at the east end are the remains of a deeply splayed window. It has been roofed as a herd's cabin, and a wall is built across the centre. The door was at the west end, and the wall $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick.

The following is a complete list of the remains belonging to this ancient monastery as given in the Ordnance Survey letters written in the year 1835 :—

1. St. Caimin's Church.
2. Belfry.
3. Teampúl na b-fear-ngonta.
4. Church of Confession.
5. Teampúl Muire.
6. House of Baptism.
7. St. Michael's Church, with enclosure, called St. Michael's garden.
8. St. Colum-cille's Church.
9. Six tombstones with Irish inscriptions.
10. Holy Well, near St. Michael's Church, where the memory of St. Caimin is still venerated on the 24th of March.
11. A causeway, supposed to have once extended to the mainland.



ST. CAIMIN'S CHURCH AND BELFRY.

HISTORICAL NOTES.—The first mention made of this place in the Annals is at the date 548, where the Four Masters state "St. Colam of Iniscealtra died." No further account of him under this title is to be found, but it is possible that he was identical with

Colum, son of Ninnidh, and descendant of Crimhthann, the patron of Tir-da-glas,¹ whose death is recorded at the same date by the Four Masters. He is the one saint of this name whose memory is venerated on the 13th of December, and the fact recorded of the translation of his relics to Iniscealtra would lead to the supposition that he had been at some period connected with this island, and that a church existed here at this early date. In the Calendar of Aengus he is styled "The abstinent Colum of Térdá-glais," and the Martyrology of Donegal says, p. 335: "It was he that gave the sacrifice to Finnen of Cluain Eraird; and he was a disciple of Finnen Macaoimhe, of Tir-da-ghlas, and Odhran brought his relics to Iniscealtra, as Ciaran of Saighir had foretold in his own Life, chap. 6, and as Mochaemog had foretold when he was baptizing Odhran." He is also mentioned in the Annals of Ulster at the same year, as dying of the *Mortalitas Magna*; and in the Annals of Clonmacnois, at 550, as dying of the great pestilence called "The Boye Conneall" (*Buidhe Chonaill*).² The oldest church now on the island is dedicated to St. Caimin, who, according to the Four Masters, was half-brother of Guaire Aidhne, who died in the year 662. (See Colgan's *Acta SS.* p. 746.) O'Flaherty states, in a marginal note to the Annals of Tighernach, Dublin copy:—"Caimin Inse Celtrach obiit." The 24th of March was St. Caimin's day. He was of the race of Cathair Mór, of Leinster, and sought an anchorite's life on this island. He lived there in his solitary cell until the fame of his sanctity attracted crowds of disciples, for whom he erected a noble monastery, which became afterwards famous for the multitude of saints resting there. Some leaves of a Psalter, with marginal glosses, which in Ussher's day was commonly believed to have been written by St. Caimin, are still preserved in the Franciscan Collection, Dublin. (See Ussher's *Brit. Eccl. Antiqq.* cap. 17, Works, vol. vi. p. 544.) The names of five abbots, one anchorite, and one bishop, of this place, are recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters.

It seems almost certain St. Caimin's Church was one of those ornamented buildings which, as Dr. Petrie remarks, were erected by the Irish during the intervals of repose that followed the defeat of the Danes by Brian and Malachy the Second from the tenth to the eleventh century. Killaloe and Iniscealtra were both built by King Brian, as we learn from Keating, who quotes from an ancient life of this monarch, written by Mac Liag, his secretary. The passage is as follows:—"It is he [Bryen] also that caused the great church of Cill Dalua (Killaloe) to be built, and the church of Inis Cealltrach,

¹ Now Terryglass, near the Shannon, in the barony of Lower Ormond, and county of Tipperary.

² For the explanation of this term, and an account of the epidemic, see Wilde's *Analysis of Pestilences*, in the *Census of Ireland for 1851*, part v. vol. i. p. 416.

and repaired the high steeple of Tuaim Greine (Tomgrany)." The last notice of this church, which is to be found in the Annals of the Four Masters, occurs in the year 1009, when we learn that the Comharba of Colum, son of Crimthainn, *i.e.* the abbot of Tir-da-glas, Inis-Cealtra, and Cill-Dalua, died.¹

TEMPÚL NA NAOMH.

THE SAINTS' CHURCH, INCHAGOILE.

PLATES XCIX. AND C.



IS-AN-GHOILL, *i.e.* "the Island of the Foreigner," now Incha Goill, or Inchaguile, is situated on an island in Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway, nearly midway between Oughterard and Cong, and belonging to Cong parish. There are two churches on this island, one dedicated to St. Patrick, the other the Saints' Church. This building is of sandstone, the stones are unhammered and well put together; some of them are very large, and some of those in the quoins are of cut limestone. One stone in the east wall measures 5 ft. by 3 ft. The walls are thin, and there is no trace of a gable remaining; their present height is about 10 ft.

The west door measures 5 ft. 9 in. in height to the top of the arch, which is of three orders, and 2 ft. 5 in. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 11 in. at the springing of the arch. The inner arch is 1 ft. 4 in. in thickness, the outer arches are rather depressed; one is ornamented with a row of heads, and the other with the chevron moulding. The jambs have human heads carved just below the impost at the outer angle. There is one plain lozenge carved on the soffit of the arch of the door: O'Donovan considered this doorway to resemble that of Killeslin.

The east window has vertical jambs. There is a small reveal in the arch, of $\frac{3}{8}$ in., which is carried down the jamb on the south side as a sort of groove. This window is seven inches wide. There is an early-looking south window in the chancel, which is 1 ft. 2 in. high and 4 in. wide outside, 3 ft. 9 in. high, and 1 ft. 7½ in. wide inside. The inner arch of this window has very sloping jambs. The chancel arch is of well-cut

¹ See paper by Mr. Brash, *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, vol. i. p. 8.







stone, with a shallow squared impost; it is about 8 ft. 8 in. high, and 8 ft. 8 in. wide. An ancient uninscribed stone ornamented with a cross is inserted in the south wall. At the north-east corner of the chancel there is a square structure called a tomb, well built, and measuring 10 ft. 6 in. in length externally, 7 ft. 6 in. wide, and 3 ft. 6 in. high. The



PORTRION OF WEST DOORWAY, SAINTS' CHURCH, INCHAGOILE.

top is imperfect, and the centre is filled up with small stones. O'Donovan thinks this is probably the tomb of the Archbishop Muirges O'Nioc, who died on this island in the year 1128. Another stone bearing a very ancient Irish inscription—*Lie Lugaedon Maci Menuch*, "the stone of Lugaed, son of Menn"—may be seen in the churchyard.¹

HISTORICAL NOTES ON INCHAGOILE.—The Four Masters have the following entry at A.D. 1128 :—" Muirgheas O'Nioc, successor of Iarlath of Tuaim-da-ghualann for a time, died on Inis-an-Ghoill." He was Bishop of Tuam.

O'Flaherty, writing in 1684, says :—" Inis-an-Ghoill, so called of a certain holy person who there lived of old, known only by the name of An Gall Craibhtheach, *i. e.* the devout forreigner : for Gall (*i. e.* of the Gallick nation), they call every foreigner."—*West Connaught*, p. 24.

The remains of the two churches on this island have been described by Dr. Petrie,

¹ See Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii. p. 10, Plate vi.

in his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 161. Of the most primitive looking of these two buildings he writes:—"That this church is of the age of St. Patrick, as is believed in the traditions of the country, and as its name [Templepatrick] would indicate, can, I think, scarcely admit of doubt; for, though there is another church on the island of beautiful architecture, and of similar form and nearly equal dimensions, and undoubtedly of an age considerably anterior to the arrival of the English, it appears, nevertheless, a modern structure as compared with this. It is, however, greatly to be regretted that of the foundation of this, as indeed of many other churches believed to have been erected by St. Patrick, we have no historical account remaining."

LOCH CARRAIN.

LOCH CURRANE, CHURCH ON CHURCH ISLAND.

PLATE CI.



THIS church stands within twelve or fifteen yards of the shore on the east side of Church Island, in Loch Currane, formerly called Loch Lee.¹ The walls are of quarried stones, generally small; the nave is 27 ft. long and 13 ft. 8 in. wide. The chancel is 15 ft. 9 in. long and 11 ft. 6 in. wide; the west gable is broken down to the height of the side walls. The walls are 3 ft. thick; the chancel gable is broken and shapeless. The west door is 6 ft. 6 in. or 7 ft. high at present, and 2 ft. 6 in. wide at the top, and 2 ft. 8 in. at the bottom. It is of four orders: three of the arches spring from shafts. The inner shafts are decorated with the cable pattern, the two outer are plain. The arch is composed of eleven stones, and though only 1 ft. deep there are two voussoirs. Only one capital remains; it seems to be some variety of the scollop, with rope moulding. The ground is about 2 ft. above the original level. No traces of any of the numerous cut stones, which must have formed the various portions of the doorway, are to be found in the ground around the church.

The east window was round-headed and of chiselled sandstone, according to O'Donovan, who saw it before the top was, as it now is, quite concealed by ivy. It measures outside, 2 ft. 3 in. high and 6 in. wide; inside, 5 ft. 6 in. high and 4 ft. 3 in. wide. There is a south window in the nave, its measurements are—outside, 5 ft. 4 in. high, 6 in.

¹ The primitive remains on this island have been already described; see vol. i. p. 55.



Fig. Window
1/2" Island Long, Cottage



Fig. Window, 1/2" Island Long, Cottage



Fig. Window, 1/2" Island Long, Cottage



Doorway

1/2" Island Long, Cottage



Fig. Doorway, 1/2" Island Long, Cottage





and 7 in. wide; inside, 4 ft. 10 in. high, 2 ft. and 2 ft. 2 in. wide. The slope is 3 ft. 9 in. This is remarkably deep. This window is formed of well cut sandstone: both these windows have deep reveals and no marks of fastenings for glass. In the chancel there was a south window of cut stone, but it is now almost destroyed, and the chancel arch is quite gone. The base of the altar still remains. It is of rough work, with some stones squared and some not. There is no slab upon the top. It is 5 ft. 3 in. long and 3 ft. 1 in. wide.

There is a square structure close to the south-west angle of the nave; it is 3 or 4 ft. high, and is called St. Finan's Tomb, being held to be the burial place of the founder of the church who bore that name. The foundations of a wall may be seen outside, which extends towards the water, and contains a doorway which is 5 ft. wide facing the nave. The sides of this doorway are 7 ft. deep, and are formed of large upright stones.

On the east side of the chancel there is a stone inscribed with a plain cross of double incised lines, and a sculptured stone on the top of a tomb built against the south wall of the nave. The memory of the founder is venerated at a holy well in the townland of Caherbarnagh, on the shore opposite the island, on the 16th of March.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON CHURCH ISLAND, LOCH CURRANE.—The first record we have of Loch Currane, or Loch Lughdhach, is that found in the Annals of the Four Masters, where it is stated that in the year of the world 3656, seven battles were fought at Loch Lughdhach; they are enumerated as among the victories gained by Tighearnmas, King of Ireland, over the race of Emhear and others of the Irish who had leagued themselves with foreigners. The lake was named Currane from a small river so called, which empties itself into the sea at Ballynaskelligs Bay.¹ In one of the Milesian legends it is related that Enda, son of Milesius, was shipwrecked and lost at the mouth of this river. St. Finan, the founder of the church on the island in this lake, is identical with the person who is commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal, March 16: "Fionán the Leper, of Sord, and of Cluain-Mór in Leinster, and of Ard-Fionáin in Munster. He was of the race of Cian son of Oilioll Oluim."² He was born in the east of Munster, and lived about the middle of the sixth century. He founded two other monasteries in this province, one on Inisfallen in Loch Lein (Killarney), and the other in Tipperary, called

¹ Smith's History of Kerry, pp. 99, 100. The lake is called Kurrane in an act drawn up in A.D. 1666.

² P. 77. See also Colgan, Act. SS., p. 628. Colgan says—"Vide [de] ipso eiusque nobilissimo Monasterio Cluain-morensi in vita S. Onchuonis, supra ad 8 Febr." (Actt. SS. p. 629 b.) And accordingly Colgan at p. 277 says—"In cuius [Cluanmor] etiam cœmeterio quod Anglicum vocant, corpus S. Onchuonis cum corpore S. Finani, cuius supra mentionem fecimus, tumulatum est."

Ard-finan. When St. Columba founded the monastery of Swords he placed St. Finan over the church there, and it is believed by some that he lies buried there, but others assert that his body lies at Clonmore in the county of Wexford, where also he founded a church and where his memory is still venerated.¹

The church of Darrynane, in Kilcrohane parish, which is not far from Loch Currane, was also founded by this saint; its name is derived from Doire Fhionain, "the oak-grove of Finan." Also in Kealgorm, a townland of the parish of Castle Island and barony of Trughanacmy, in the same county, there is a church which is dedicated to St. Finan.¹

Nothing further is known of the history of this church.

RAITHIN.

RAHEN, SMALL CHURCH, KING'S COUNTY.

PLATE CII.



RAHEN is situated in the townland of the same name, in the barony of Ballycowan, in the King's county. The building is a single oblong chamber, measuring 34 ft. in length by 18 ft. in width, the walls are 2 ft. 7 in. thick.

It is built of the limestone of the district, the masonry rough, a sort of rubble, with large stones—many of them boulders; in fact, the stones that the builders found most readily at hand—cemented with ordinary mortar. The quoins are of dressed stone. There is a beautifully proportioned doorway in the west wall of this church; it is built of limestone, and it measures 7 ft. 9 in. in height, 2 ft. 8 in. wide at the base, and 2 ft. 6 in. at the top. The hood moulding is like that at the Nun's church, Clonmacnois; the capital is a scallop with a shallow ornament. There are four windows, one in each gable and one in each side wall; these windows are round-headed or pointed. The south window is 2 ft. 8 in. high, 7½ in. wide at the base, and 5½ in. at the top; it is round-headed. There is another window in the south wall, which is an ogée, late-pointed arch with a curious carving on one spandril of a bird riding on a horse. The east window, consisting of two lights, is pointed.

In Plate facing page 64, Figs. *c* and *d*, drawings of one of the bases of the west door may be seen.

¹ The memoir of St. Finan, which is given by Colgan at the 16th of March, is made up of excerpts; but there is a Life of him printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* at the 16th of March, from a copy furnished to Bollandus by Henry Fitzsimon (March, tom. ii. p. 441, Paris, 1865).



Fig. 1. Plan of Church

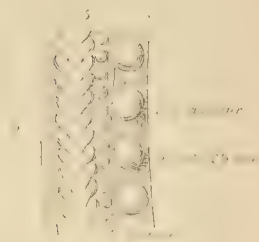


Fig. 2. Plan of Church



Section of Church



Fig. 3. Section of Church



Fig. 4. Plan of Church

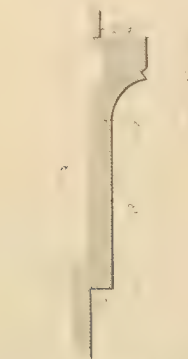
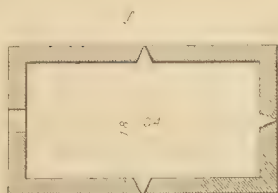


Fig. 5. Section of Church



The second church at Rahen is a larger building, a portion of which has been fitted up as a Protestant church; it consists of nave and chancel; the chancel is 14 ft. 8 in. long and 10 ft. 6 in. wide. The chancel has a very high and steep stone roof with a croft above the barrel vaulted roof, as we may believe was the case with the nave also. The croft was lighted by a circular window, an engraving of which, from a drawing by Mr. G. V. Du Noyer, has been published by Dr. Petrie at page 241 of his work on Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture. This window measures 7 ft. 6 in. in the external diameter of the circle. The actual aperture for light and air consists of four circular orifices, about 9 in. in diameter each, set in the angles of a square. The mouldings on this beautiful window are shown in Figs. *a* and *b*, Plate facing page 64. Several of the pellets in the mouldings are carved into human faces. The east window of the chancel is very large; it



CAPITALS, CHANCEL ARCH, RAHEN.

is about 8 ft. high and 4 ft. 10 in. wide at the base. The jambs are vertical, and it has a double round moulding; there is no trace of a mullion. How was such a window glazed?

The chancel arch (see Fig. *e*) is 18 ft. 4 in. wide. This archway consists of three rectangular piers at each side, rounded at their angles into semi-columns, which support three semi-circular arches, entirely unornamented, except by a plain architrave on the external one. The capitals on the innermost of these piers have an archaic character; but, nevertheless, I think they are twelfth century work. The bases are bulbous. On each side of the chancel there is a doorway, round arched, and of good ashlar masonry; they are about 5 ft. high, and 2 ft. wide at the base, and 1 ft. 10 in. at the top. It is said that these doors led into cells which are now destroyed. I do not remember having seen anything similar elsewhere.

Petrie describes the masonry of this building as very superior in character, the stones, which are polygonal, being fitted to each other with the greatest neatness and art.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON RAHEN.—Rahen, Rathain, *i. e.* *Filicetum*, or "Ferry Land," is the name of a townland and parish in the Barony of Ballycowan in King's County, which contains these two ancient churches. It appears that the two brothers, Fídhmuine and Fíodhairle, styled the *Ui Suanaigh*, were joint patrons of Rahen; the former having been a recluse and superior, or otherwise connected with Inis Baothin, now Ennisboyne, in the parish of Dunganstown, county of Wicklow. He died on the 16th of May in the year 757; and his brother on the 1st of October, 763. Drs. Petrie and O'Donovan have been mistaken in speaking as if one of these two brothers had been exclusively patron of Rahen, whereas in all subsequent notices of the place the plural form *Ui Suanaigh* is employed in reference to the patronage. There is also a cross which stood there spoken of in the *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 35 b), under the title of the *Ui Suanaigh's* cross.

These two brothers *Ui Suanaigh* are thus commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal. "May 16; Fíodhmuine, *i. e.* *Ua Suanaigh*, anchorite of Raithin, and of Inis Baithin in the east of Leinster, A. D. 756, son of Cuduilech, of the race of Dathi, son of Fiachra, son of Eochaidh Muigh-Mheadhoin, and Ferbla, daughter of Dioma Dubh, son of Senach, of the race of Dathi, son of Fiachra, was his mother." "Oct. 1: Fíodhairle, *Ua Suanaigh*, Abbot of Raithin. The age of Christ when he went to Heaven was 762."

It is a remarkable fact that although the *Ui Suanaigh* are mentioned as patrons of Rahen, and the place itself is twice spoken of as "*Rathain Ui Suanaigh*;"¹ yet there is evidence of the existence of a church here at a much earlier date, for we read that St. Carthach, acting under the advice of St. Molua of Clonfert, formed an establishment at Rahen, whence he was expelled in the year 636. His memory is venerated in the Martyrology of Donegal at May 14, when it is stated that "it was he that had the famous congregation consisting of seven hundred and ten persons when he was abbot at Raithin; an angel used to address every third man of them." Dr. Petrie relates² that Carthach ruled at Rahen over a community of monks said to have flocked to him from various parts, both of Ireland and Great Britain, "all of whom provided for themselves and the poor by the labour of their hands. But, notwithstanding the sanctity of his character, the envy and jealousy of the monks or clergy of a neighbouring establishment effected the expulsion of himself and his monks from Rathain, in the year 630, by the prince of the country, Blathmac, the son of the monarch Aedh Slaine; and after having wandered for some time

¹ Ann. 4 Mast. 1141, 1153.

² Ecclesiastical Architecture, p. 242.

from place to place, he ultimately formed a second religious establishment, not less celebrated in our histories, at Lismore, which from his time became the seat of a bishop. St. Carthach died on the 14th of May in the year 637, and was buried at Lismore.

After the notices of the two Ui Suanaigh, the Annals are silent about the place, with the exception of the very brief notice of the death of Aedhan Raithna (of Rathain), at 787, until the beginning of the twelfth century, when we read that Dermot O'Kelly, successor of Ui Suanaigh, *i.e.* abbot of Rahen, died in the year 1113. It is not unlikely that the monastery, which seems never to have fully recovered its importance after the expulsion of St. Carthach and the secession of his fraternity in 636, was again revived about this period, and that these Romanesque churches, the remains of which are still standing, were then erected.

CILL DÁLUA.

KILLALOE, CHURCH OF ST. FLANNAN.

PLATES CIII. AND CIV.



THIS church lies north of the cathedral in the small town of Killaloe, in the parish of that name, barony of Lower Tulla, and county of Clare.

These ancient buildings are situated on the side of a wooded hill, which slopes in a gentle incline down to the bank of the River Shannon.

The cathedral and small stone-roofed church stand side by side, and the walls of the latter are thickly covered with ivy. The roof is overgrown with grass in many parts. Nothing can be more impressive than the aspect of this venerable and simple building, surrounded by majestic trees and hidden in the deep shadow of thick foliage; a solemn mystery seems to envelope its ancient walls, and the silence is only broken by the sound of the great river that rolls its mighty volume of water along the base of the hill on which it stands.]

St. Flannan's church was divided into nave and chancel, with a chamber in the roof of the former; the chancel being now destroyed, it is impossible to say whether there was a similar chamber in the roof of this portion of the building also. The nave measures externally, 36 ft. 4 in. in length and 25 ft. in breadth. The roof, which is very high and steep, rests on a barrel-vault like St. Kevin's Church at Glendalough. The angle of the gable is 68 degrees. It is formed of neatly cut stones, like the roof of the church of St. Douglough, in the county of Dublin; the eave projects 6 in., forming a dripstone, where the roof meets the side walls. The masonry of the walls is formed of flat courses of

squared stones of various thicknesses, the joints being generally vertical and horizontal; the doorway and chancel arch are of reddish sandstone.

The doorway is in the west gable; it is 6 ft. 3 in. high from the present level to the top of the impost, 3 ft. 6 in. wide at the base, and 3 ft. 1 in. at the top. The arch rests on thick jamb shafts with carved capitals, that on the right hand is ornamented with the forms of two animals much defaced, the left with a system of plain leaves, curling out under the abacus, which is very heavy and chamfered; above these the arch is enriched by mouldings, consisting of simple rounds and hollows, and having a label cut on the under side into rectangular notches, or what is known in Norman architecture as the "square indent."

In the north and south walls of the nave there are triangular-headed windows widely splayed on all sides internally. The ceiling is formed by the round arch which supports the stone roof. The croft is a chamber the section of which gives a pointed arch, but the stones are laid in horizontal layers, one projecting beyond the other till they meet at the apex. The floor of the croft is 6 ft. 9 in. wide, and the height of the chamber is 7 ft. to the vertex of the arch. It is lighted by a round-headed window in the west gable, and by an angular-headed one in the east. Both these apertures have inclined sides. The chamber is entered by a square hole in the floor from the roof of nave. The chancel arch is formed of roughly worked sandstone, with imposts similar to that of the doorway, the sides incline 2 in., it being 6 ft. 8 in. wide at the base and 6 ft. 6 in. at the springing of the arch. From the traces that remain of the chancel it may be seen that it was 12 ft. 2 in. wide, and the walls were 3 ft. 2 in. thick.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON ST. FLANNAN'S CHURCH AT KILLALOE.—The name of this place was originally Cill-Dalua, or the church of St. Molua, or Dalua, who is believed to have lived in the sixth century. He is said to have placed his disciple St. Flannan over the church, who became Bishop of Killaloe in the early part of the seventh century. He was venerated on the 18th of December, and there is a holy well dedicated to his memory at the east end of the town. In the Martyrology of Donegal we read: December 18,—*"Flannán, son of Toirdhelbhach, son of Cathal, son of Aedh Caemh, son of Conall, son of Eochaidh Baillderg. He was a Confessor, of Cill-Dalua, in Dal gCais. He was of the race of Corbmac Cas, son of Oilioll Olum."* O'Flaherty, in his *History of West Connaught*, states that "St. Flannan, of the noble Tuamonian blood, consecrated by Pope John the Fourth, Anno 640, first bishop of Killaloe is patron of this parish," and that the island called Inisflanan "retains the memory of St. Flannan, patron of Balynduin parish."¹

¹ See O'Flaherty's *West Connaught*, pp. 24 and 109; Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 154. Harris's *Ware's Works*,





PL. CIV



Ware adds that, "while he sat here, his father Thodoric endowed the church of Killaloe with many estates, and dying full of years was magnificently interred in this church by his son Flannan." This author gives the names of five bishops styled the successors of Flannan, commencing with Carmacan O'Muilcashel, who died in 1019. About the year 1195 the sees of Inis Cathay and of Roscrea were united, and annexed to the bishopric of Killaloe.

CILL DÁLUA.

KILLALOE. TOMB OF KING MURTOGH O'BRIEN.

PLATE CV.



THIS is now a recessed arch in the south-west corner of the wall of Killaloe Cathedral. Beneath the arch, and forming, as it were, the floor of the recess, is a flat tombstone, on which a cross is incised, similar in character and design to many which have been found carved on sepulchral slabs, believed to be of the tenth and eleventh centuries, at Clonmacnois. It seems doubtful whether this arch was merely a sepulchral recess, or whether it formed the doorway to a chantry or sepulchral chapel, such as those commonly used in England in the twelfth century, and in which masses for the dead were chanted. If the latter, it seems curious that no remains of the chapel can be found, and that the tombstone should be under the doorway.¹

The arch is of four orders, springing from inclined jambs with carved capitals and bases. One of these shafts at each side is rounded into the form of a column; the others preserve their angular character, although the outline is broken by the ornament encrusted on them. The rounded columns are covered with a diamond pattern, each diamond being filled in with scrolls or radiating designs ending in spirals; the shafts of the first and third order are decorated with varieties of chevrons, that on the outer order being very peculiar. The inner order is carved into very slightly developed

vol. i. p. 590; Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii., pp. 147, 148; and Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture, pp. 274-278.

¹ This monument is one of the finest examples of Irish Romanesque architecture now existing, and it is to be regretted that no successful photograph can be made of it. Built as it is in a very dark corner of the cathedral, and the arch being entirely formed of black marble, it was found impossible to get any photograph of it without whitewashing the whole, and this very much destroys the beauty of the effect.

bowtels. The capitals and abaci are almost all covered with the divergent spiral or trumpet pattern, while on the arches the prevailing decoration is a form of the ornamental zig-zag, which bears a close resemblance to a moulding in the church of Grand Maladrerie, near Caen, in Normandy, a building erected by King Henry II. of England.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON CATHEDRAL OF KILLALOE.—The cathedral in which this tomb stands is said to have been first built by the monarch Brian Borumha. Keatinge, in his *History of Ireland*, mentions the erection of this building along with that of the church of Iniscaltra, and the repairing of the steeple of Tomgraney, about the year 1008, but, as Dr. Petrie remarks, the present building is clearly not of Brian's time; this is "sufficiently obvious from its architectural details, which belong to the close of the twelfth century, and its re-erection is attributed, with every appearance of truth, to Donnell More O'Brien, King of Limerick, who died in the year 1194." Portions of the older church would appear to have been incorporated with this one, among which the recessed arch and tomb represented in this plate may be enumerated. This tomb is held by tradition to be that of Murtogh O'Brien (Muirchertach Ua Briain), who succeeded his father Turlough O'Brien in the sovereignty of Munster in the year 1089, and was crowned at Tara monarch of Ireland in the year 1100. About this time he appears to have attained much celebrity, for Ussher quotes an epistle of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to *Muriardach, the glorious King of Ireland*, in which he speaks of his justice and love of peace. His authority was also acknowledged by the inhabitants of the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. "All the chief men of the islands, as soon as the death of Lagmannas was heard of, sent ambassadors to Murchard O'Brien, King of Ireland, to send some more energetic man of the royal line to rule over them until Olanus should be of age."¹ This monarch gave Cashel—that is, the city, with the lands and lordships appertaining to it—to the bishopric established there, and assembled a synod, or great national council, in 1111, "to prescribe rules and good conduct for all laity and clergy."² The good king showed equal energy in the defence of his country against the common enemy. He defeated the Danes of Dublin three times, banished Godfrid, their chief, and had himself proclaimed their king. Sichraídh, the Danish leader, son to the King of Norway, was afterwards united in marriage to the daughter of King Murtogh O'Brien, and his other daughter became the wife of Arnulph de Montgomery, eldest son of the Earl of Arundel in England. It has been stated by William of Malmesbury that he formed a close friendship with Henry I., King of England, as we

¹ Camd. Chron. p. 840.

² See *History of Ireland*, by Abbé MacGeoghegan, p. 233.



read in the following passage :—" Hiberniensium regem Murcardum & successores ejus, quorum nomina fama non extulit, ita devotos habuit noster Henricus, ut nihil nisi quod eum palparet, scriberent, nihil nisi quod juberet, agerent : quamvis feratur Murcardus, nescio qua de caussa, paucis diebus inflatus in Anglos egisse, sed mox pro interdicto navigio, & mercimonio navigantium tumorem pectoris sedasse."¹

In the year 1114 he was seized with a fatal disease, which compelled him for a while to resign his throne, and of which he ultimately died. Towards the close of his life he retired to the monastery of Lismore, and his death is thus recorded by the Four Masters :—"A. D. 1119. Muirheartach Ua Briain, King of Ireland, prop of the glory and magnificence of the west of the world, died, after the victory of reign and penance, on the festival of Machaemhog of Loath, on the 6th of the Ides of March, and was interred in the church of Cill-Dalua, after penance, in the sixth year of his illness."²

CAISEAL.

CASHEL, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

PLATES CVI. AND CVII.



THE remarkable group of ruins illustrated in these plates is situated in the barony of Middlethird and county of Tipperary. The aspect of these venerable buildings has been already described in a foregoing chapter of this work, where the belfry, which is the oldest as well as one of the most striking features in the group, is described. Next in date to this building is the church called Cormac's Chapel, and the other buildings on the rock are the cathedral, the archiepiscopal palace, a fortified building, various mediæval buildings anciently belonging to the Vicars choral, the gate, tower, and portions of the ancient walls. The original cathedral of Cashel was erected about the year 1171 by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, but the present structure must date from the middle of the thirteenth century. It was burnt in 1495, and afterwards re-edified. The church is cruciform.

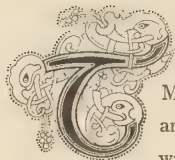
¹ Willielmi Malmesburiensis De Gestis Regum Anglorum, Lib. v. (Rerum Anglicarum SS. post Bedam, Henrici Savile, p. 91.

² In a fragment of a letter (from which the signature has unfortunately been torn), addressed to the late Dr. Petrie, the following statement occurs connected with the building which now contains this tomb :—"The cathedral is built in the form of a cross, with a steeple in the centre supported by four arches. It is about 200 ft. in length, and the span of the roof 30 ft. The east window was built by Donald, King of Limerick, in the year 1160, and when the window was being repaired in 1827, one of the workmen scraped off the whitewash from one of the bead-stones, and some letters, which were found to be the date 1182, were discovered upon it.

TEMPÚL CORBMAC MAC CARTAIG.

CORMAC'S CHAPEL, CASHEL.

PLATE CVIII.



THIS church takes its name from the Bishop King of Munster, Cormac M'Carthy, by whom it was built. It was probably erected on the site of an older church, of which the belfry alone is still standing,¹ and the doorway of which faced the great porch of the church, until the cathedral buildings were interposed at a later date. The plan of this church is peculiar, as compared with others of the same date in Ireland, its orientation being nearly 16 degrees from due east to west, and its chancel not on a line with the centre of the nave. It is cruciform, the cross being formed by the addition of two square towers at each side of the termination of the nave at its junction with the chancel, and it has a square apse, which appears inside as an arched quadrangular recess. The nave measures 30 ft. in length by 18 ft. in width, the chancel is 13 ft. 8 in. long by 11 ft. 6 in. broad. It is spanned by a barrel vault, having plain rectangular ribs springing from the capitals of the columns in the upper tier; the lower consisting of rectangular piers connected by round arches forming an arcade. The capitals from which the ribs of the ceiling spring are various forms of the bell shape, decorated grotesque heads, interrupted arch mouldings, diapers, etc.; they have plain deep abaci, consisting of square and chamfer. These capitals crown a series of rounded columns with moulded bases. The piers of the arcades in the lower story are decorated on their faces and sides with various incised patterns of very perfectly and delicately executed diapers, stars, hollow squares, and billets. These patterns are often irregularly arranged with a certain disregard of symmetry which seems to belong to early art, and gives a certain expression of naïveté to the work of ancient builders and illuminators. There is an inexplicable peculiarity in the position of the chancel, which is decidedly injurious to the architectural beauty of the building, and that is that the chancel and chancel arch are not in the centre of the end wall of the nave, but at the south-east corner.² The chancel arch is of four orders with roll mouldings outside them, and a hollowed space running round the arch and down each side studded with faces in high relief, each one of

¹ See Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, pp. 285, 290, 308, 3111.

² A similar irregularity is observable in the ground plan of the Chapelle des Allinges in the diocese of Geneva, given by Blavignac in his work entitled *Histoire de l'Architecture Sacrée*, p. 253.







which, to judge from their varying character, would seem to have been meant for portraits—some are thin, long, and narrow, others round and full; some tonsured, others crowned; many of them are now much destroyed, but all appear to have been human heads. The next order was ornamented with a rich surface chevron moulding, and sprang from spiral shafts, one of which is only now remaining. The arch is now somewhat of a horse-shoe shape, but this is probably due to some ancient settlement in the foundation of the wall, an accident resulting from pressure. The bases of the piers are shallow, and the capitals



INTERIOR OF CORMAC'S CHAPEL, CASHEL.

small and decorated with interlaced and spiral designs, showing a variety of the trumpet pattern. The roof is groined with semicircular ribs springing diagonally and moulded, while a group of four heads is seen at their point of intersection. It bears evidence in many places of having been elaborately painted; in that part of the ceiling situated over the chancel arch frescoes may still be seen representing a group of round-headed arches with shafts, etc., painted in white, yellow, and deep red. It is worthy of note that all the decorated features of the nave are square or angular, those in the chancel are round, and

the mouldings in the arcades are principally rounds and hollows ; the north and south walls are covered with arcades of round-headed arches springing from three-quarter columns with bases and carved capitals. The panels of these arcades were painted in fresco, but the colouring is almost entirely effaced.

The square apse at the end of the chancel is ascended by one step ; in the corners of the floor of this small compartment are the bases of the columns on which the altar appears to have rested.¹ There is an interesting contrivance by which the sun's rays could be made to strike on the altar at midday ; a window is pierced in the wall at each side, but only that to the south-east is now open and available.

The east wall of the apse is decorated with an arcade of three round arches springing



CHANCEL, CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

from columns, the two centre ones being decorated, one with spiral, the other with zigzag mouldings. The panels here show traces of colouring also. It has been surmised that this small compartment, which we have termed an apse, may have been designed for a bishop's throne and not an altar. The occurrence of the side windows, and the resemblance which this termination to the chancel bears to the little square apse in the church at Sion in Switzerland, seems to refute this theory.

¹ At Clamency, near Nevers, there is a church called Bethlehem, with a square apse ; also at Laon, near Noyon, in France. See *Annales Archeologique*, Didron Aîné, vol. i. p. 116.

The great entrance to this church is not, as usual, in the west end, but in the north wall, facing that of the belfry. This doorway is singularly fine. It is round-arched, of five orders springing from detached shafts; it is surmounted by a high projecting canopy divided into panels by perpendicular bands, enriched with zigzag mouldings and rosettes and carved heads. It measures upwards of 23 ft. in height from the ground to the top of this canopy, and 12 ft. 5 in. wide from pier to pier. The external arch projects 4 ft. 2 in. from the face of the wall, and is 7 ft. 10 in. deep. The capitals of the shafts are variously decorated with heads—animals and trumpet pattern spiral designs. On the face of the tympanum a centaur with bow and arrow is represented shooting a lion, which tears a smaller animal in its claws. The label terminations here and throughout the building are human and animal heads.¹

The doorway in the south wall of the nave measures 2 ft. 6 in. in width and 6 ft. 8 in. in height; the jambs of one order were ornamented with the lozenge pattern, now much decayed, as is also the drip-stone. A grotesque figure of an animal is sculptured on the lintel, its tail terminating in a trefoil leaf.

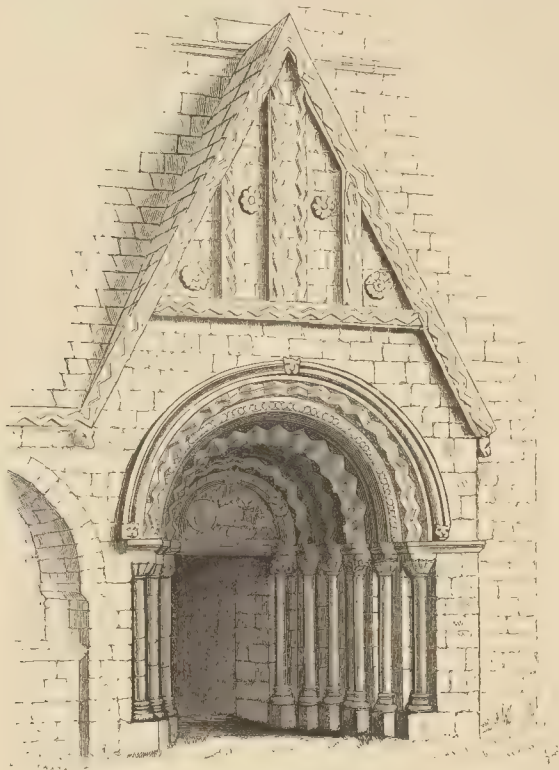
In addition to these doorways there are two others in the nave, leading to the towers which stand at each side of the termination of the nave. It is curious to see so elaborate a doorway as that on the north side leading into a small tower. It has two semi-columns on each side, and its innermost arch moulding is enriched with the chevron ornament.

The small door leading to the south tower is much simpler, and is only ornamented in its architrave. There are sculptured drip-stone terminations on its inner face.

The nave was lit by three large rounded windows in the west wall above the level of the doorways, and the chancel by a round-headed window in the north as well as in the south wall, while those in the apse have been already alluded to. Those in the chancel are very small and have inclined sides, measuring 2 ft. in height by 8 in. in width at the bottom and 7 in. at the top. No fittings for glass are visible in any of these apertures. Outside the small doorway in the southern wall a spiral staircase may be seen leading up the square south tower to the chambers in the roof of the main building. Above this stair there appear to have been either sleeping apartments, or libraries or safe-rooms for preserving the books and other treasures of the church. The chamber over the nave measures 27 ft. in length, 16 ft. 6 in. in width, and it is 21 ft. in height to the soffit of the pointed arch which forms its roof. The room was lit by small windows at a considerable

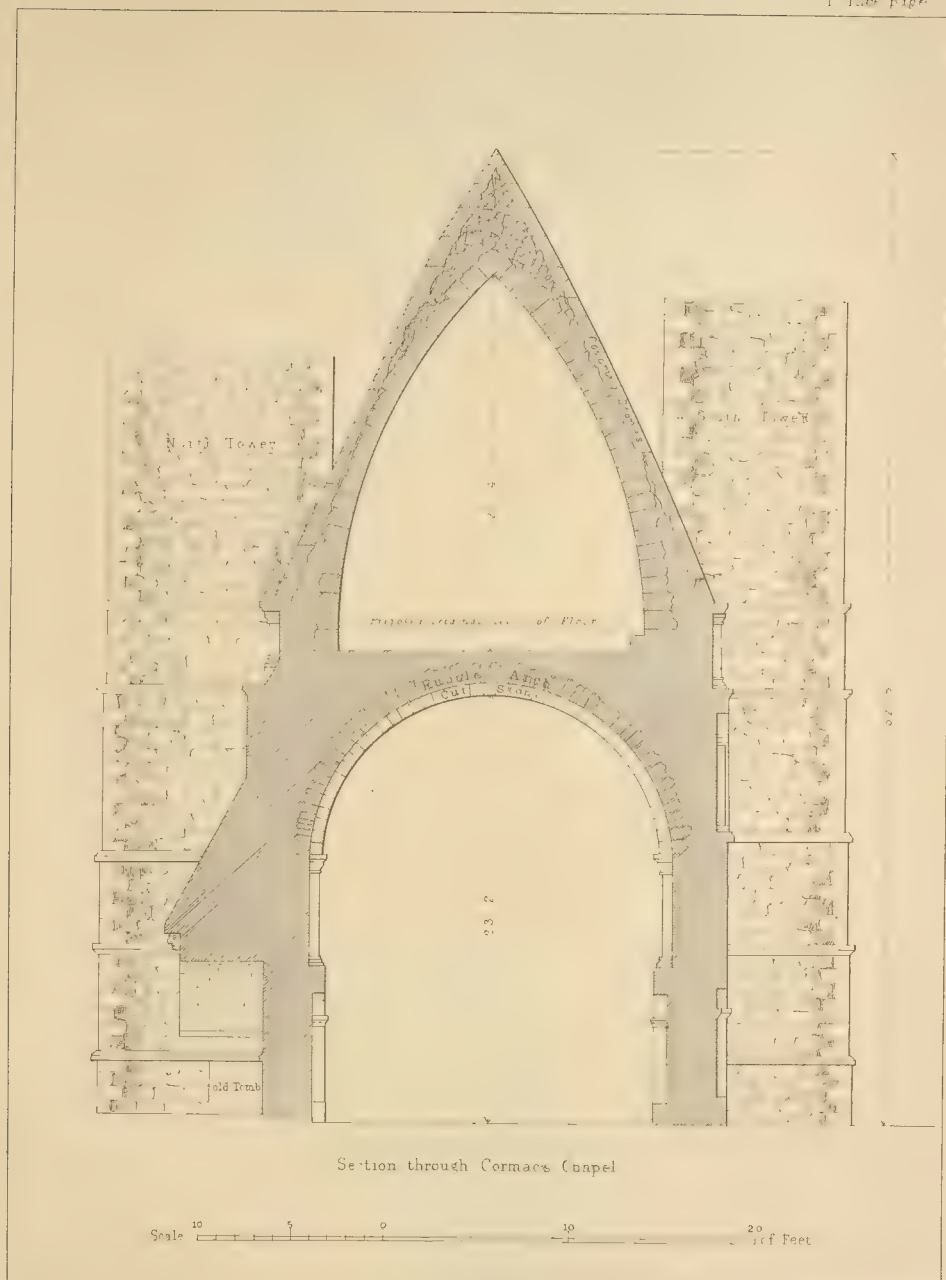
¹ Mr. Arthur Hill draws attention to the similarity between the helmet worn by this centaur and the helmets worn by the Norman lancers represented in the Bayeux tapestry. Note on Plate viii. Monograph of Cormac's Chapel.

height, and there is a large space at the west end for a fireplace, but no chimney. From each side of the fireplace the openings of two horizontal flues may be seen, which run round the chamber at the foot of the walls, till they meet at the junction of the south tower and corner of the wall; here they are met by another flue, apparently leading from the chancel below, and all uniting in an up-cast shaft into the south tower, which never was



NORTH DOORWAY, CORMAC'S CHAPEL (RESTORED).

roofed, and through which the smoke found vent. Mr. J. N. Deane is of opinion that the flooring (now gone) was of flags or concrete laid over a hollow contiguous net-work of flues, like a Roman hypocaust. The difficulty is that at present no contrivance is visible for creating a draught so as to drive the hot air into the flues, but it is impossible in the present ruined state of the fireplace to say there never was such an arrangement. Some



Section through Cormac's Chapel

CORMAC'S CHAPEL

M. & W. Harcourt, Ch. L. L.

adaptation for closing in the fire may well have existed. If the fire were of charcoal, and a draught once established (by straw being lighted for a short time in the tower, for instance), it would go on while the fire was kept burning.¹

Passing through an arch in the west wall of this chamber and descending six steps set in the thickness of the wall, the small croft over the chancel is entered. This chamber is lit by two small circular windows, and here the architect shows the same disregard for symmetry as before alluded to, for though placed side by side they are of different sizes.

The method in which the stone roof of this church is constructed is extremely interesting. Over the round barrel vault is super-imposed a pointed barrel vault, and the latter is constructed on the radiating principle, as may be seen in the section given in plate



CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

facing page 74. The stone covering, which appears as a vault inside, was made to rise in a regular slope outside, like a roof, covered with flags of sandstone about 8 in. thick. There

¹ It has been suggested by Mr. Gordon Hills that the space was originally occupied by a timber or bond-course now decayed, and others have surmised that these bond timbers were secured at intervals by cross ties, which also acted as joists to carry the flooring, and thus account for the holes visible in the channel at regular intervals at each side. The same construction occurs in the tower of Thann in Normandy; at the base of the pyramidal roof a wooden wall-plate was inserted, which is now entirely decayed, and a hollow space, just as at Cashel, has been left. Mr. Arthur Hill has argued that such a contrivance was necessary to resist the thrust of the roof. Mr. Brash rejects this theory, and holds the channels to have been flues, but not for the purpose of heating, but rather for conveying currents of cold air under the fire. In answer to these various opinions it suffices to remark that there is no chimney to this fireplace, that there is a shaft leading up to the open tower, that there could be no necessity for such resistance to the thrust of a roof which was sufficiently steep not to exert any such lateral pressure. A similar channel is said to exist in Maghera church, in the county of Down.

is a curious bend in the outline of the roof, which appears to be part of the original construction, probably to avoid the extreme height to which the roof would have run if the sides of the triangle had been continued up from the base to their point of meeting. The space between the apex of the roof and that of the pointed arch is filled in with rubble; and another remarkable feature in the work is the complete separation of the inner and outer surfaces constructively, when what might have been expected is that the stones forming the inner roof should run out to the outer surface for at least a portion of the arch, with joints radiating to the centre inside and horizontal outside. By the plan adopted the percolation of any moisture from outside through the roof was prevented.¹

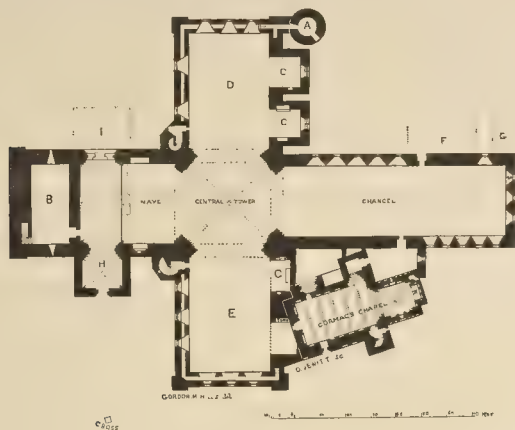
The crofts in the roof have a constructive use, that of supporting the external covering, quite apart from any utilization of the space for residential purposes. In smaller buildings they occur also when there can be no doubt at all that they are meant to reduce the weight on the crown of the arch, and diminish the tendency to spreading out at the side.

The roof consists of two layers of stone, the external one being of sandstone, ashlar, and the internal layer of squared blocks of calc-tufa, a material which must have been sought on account of its light as well as hard nature.* This has been said to have been imported, but it may, however, have been found in the localities, as springs in a limestone district like Cashel often deposit tufa. The masonry of this building is altogether very beautiful, of a close-grained sandstone laid in courses of small ashlar, neatly dressed on the face, and truly squared on beds and joints with little mortar. Externally the walls are decorated with blank arcades in separate stories, and one is carried round the southern tower. This tower is ornamented externally with eight projecting bands or belts, the lowest being but 3 ft. from the ground; the top is of a much later date than the original building. In this tower is a spiral staircase leading to the crofts, and there are holes for floor-beams above, as if the top of the tower were lighted by four small quadrangular apertures. The northern tower is 50 ft. in height, being 5 ft. below the present height of the other; it has a pyramidal roof, and is ornamented with six projecting belts or bands. The position of these towers at the junction of the nave and chancel, so as to convey the idea of the cross, is similar to the plan of the Norman part of Exeter Cathedral, where the tower forms transepts; and the interior of the Chapel of the Hospital of St. Julien, near Rouen, founded in 1183 by Henry II., King of England and Duke of Normandy, bears a striking resemblance to that of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel. There is a little church sculptured on a capital discovered by M.

¹ The editor has to thank Mr. James Owen, of the Board of Works, for these remarks on the construction of this roof. During the repairs lately carried on at Cashel he had the roof especially examined with a view to investigating the matter.

* See Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland. R. R. Brash, p. 96.

Viollet le Duc among the ruins of St. Sauveur at Nevers, a building of the eleventh or twelfth century, which in many important points is singularly like Cormac's Chapel. See *Annales Archéologiques* par Didron Atné, tom. ii. p. 105.



PLAN OF CATHEDRAL OF CASHEL, CORMAC'S CHAPEL AND BELFRY.¹

HISTORICAL NOTES ON CASHEL.—There is no mention in the Irish Annals of Cashel as a place of ecclesiastical importance until the middle of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. One of the most remarkable men connected with the church here was Cormac, the son of Cuilennáin, born A.D. 831, who was prince, and subsequently became bishop, of Cashel, and was slain A.D. 903. He is said to have been the author of Cormac's Glossary, and of that great compilation called the Psalter of Cashel, which was afterwards added to by Brian Boruma. However, there appears to be no satisfactory evidence on these points. His memory is venerated on the 14th of September. Nothing further is recorded connected with the church of Cashel until the beginning of the twelfth century, when Cormac MacCarthy reigned, who was also King of Munster, and of the same tribe with the former Cormac.² It was by him that this building called Cormac's Chapel was erected, and we learn from the following records that it must have been built between the years 1127 and 1134 :—

A.D. 1127. Two churches [were erected] at Lismore, and a church at Cashel, by

¹ A, Round tower; B, Archbishop's residence or castle; c c c, Chapels; D, North transept; E, South transept; F, Chantry (destroyed); G, Modern buttress; H, South porch; I, North porch (destroyed).

² See Three Irish Glossaries, by W. S., Introd. p. xviii.

Cormac. (Annals of Inisfallen) A.D. 1134. The consecration of the church of Cormac MacCarthy at Cashel by the Archbishop and Bishops of Munster and the magnates of Ireland both lay and ecclesiastical. (Annals of Inisfallen) A.D. 1134. The consecration of Cormac's church by many dignitaries (Chron. Scot.): and the same event is recorded in the annals of Kilronan, Tighernach, Clonmacnois, and the Four Masters. Cormac could hardly have presided personally over the building of this church unless it was commenced some time before the year 1127, since in that year he was driven out by King Turlough O'Connor, who twice entered Munster and subdued it; and Cormac, we read in the Annals of Inisfallen, "was obliged to go on a pilgrimage to Lismore, and take a staff there; and Donagh, son of Muiredach, son of Carthach, was inaugurated in his presence."

While yet at Lismore, Cormac made acquaintance with Malachy of Bangor, the friend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux,¹ and he lived under his direction until his kingdom was restored to him by the intervention of Conor O'Brian, King of Munster, who determined to shake off the yoke of Turlogh O'Connor. Soon after this Cormac was re-established in the kingdom of Desmond, and Malachy took refuge with him, accompanied by a hundred and twenty monks from Bangor.² They were received with great joy by Cormac, and a place was set apart for the building of a monastery in his kingdom; and, with renewed zeal and energy, the religious community set about the erection of their new foundation. "Hac occasione Monasterium Ibracense constructum est." (Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiae, cap. ix. § 18).³

Turlogh O'Brian, and Dermot MacCarthy, in whose favour Turlogh O'Connor had driven out Cormac from his kingdom of Desmond, were in their turn dispossessed by Conor O'Brian and Cormac MacCarthy. As we read in the Annals of Inisfallen, Conor "went to Lismore, and gave his hand to Cormac MacCarthy, and brought him again into the world, and made him King of Desmond. This was bitterly revenged in after years, and in 1138, King Cormac was treacherously murdered by Dermot Lugach O'Connor Kerry at the instigation of Turlogh O'Brian, who was his own son-in-law, gossip, and foster-child."³

¹ The foreign and, in Ireland, novel elements in the design and details of Cormac's Chapel, as well as in other churches in Munster, may perhaps be traced to the influence of this friendship between King Cormac and St. Malachy, and the visit of the latter to Cashel and the county of Kerry. St. Malachy, as we know, had spent much time in France, and founded many churches in Ireland, which he strove to make "like those he had seen in other countries," adorning them, as his accusers said, with "proud and unnecessary work." (Vita S. Malachiae, cap. ix.) Life of St. Malachy, by the Rev. John O'Hanlon.

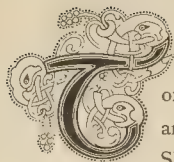
² See Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 88; St. Bernard, Vit. S. Mal. cap. 6.

³ Opera S. Bernardi, tomus ii. This was doubtless Iveragh, in the county of Kerry, as Dr. Lanigan observes, and it does not seem improbable that the ruins of the Romanesque church on Church Island, in the barony of that name, are those of the church then erected.

CILL UISSEAN.

KILLESWIN CHURCH, WEST DOORWAY.

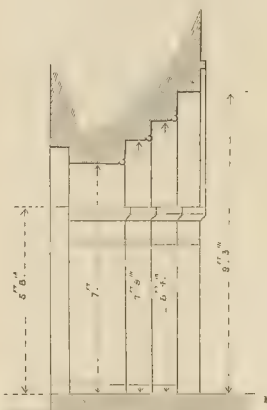
PLATE CIX.



THE church to which this doorway belongs stands in a glen at the foot of that part of the mountain of Slieve Mairge, called Knockarah, two miles and a half from the town of Carlow, in the parish of Killeshin, barony of Slievemargy, and county of Carlow. The name is derived originally from that of the valley in which it was built, Gleann Uissean, by which title it is mentioned in the Annals and Martyrologies.

The ruin stands not far from a rath on a knoll overlooking a little waterfall, which tumbles over a ledge of rock in the ravine at its foot. The gables and side walls of the church are clothed with ivy and long grass. The ancient pillar-clustered doorway, arch within arch, with its rich adornment of sculptured traceries, mouldings, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions, appearing in the midst of this frame-work of leaves, forms a picture of extreme beauty.

The church was remodelled at three different periods. Before the east wall fell it was 66 ft. long by 25 ft. 8 in. broad internally, but as it stands now it measures 90 ft. from



SECTION OF KILLESWIN DOORWAY.



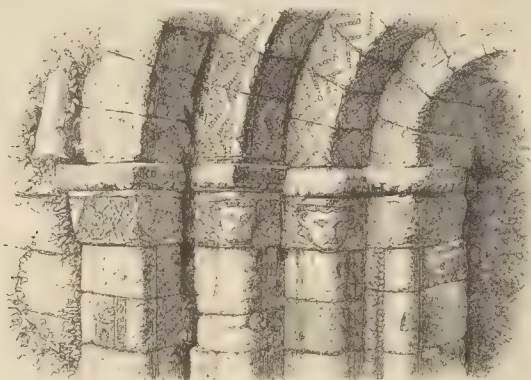
GROUND PLAN OF KILLESWIN DOORWAY.

end to end, and the eastern part to the distance of 24 ft. was evidently added at a much later period than that at which the original building was erected. This modern portion

¹ At the time when Lord Dunraven had this drawing executed the bases were not uncovered, as they are now owing to the labours of the Rev. James Graves.

may be termed the chancel, and is 1 ft. 6 in. narrower than the nave. The walls are 3 ft. 8 in. to 4 ft. thick. The masonry is large, showing little trace of the hammer, with deep granite quoins and pilasters at the west end, projecting 9 in., and 3 ft. 2 in. wide. In the modern work the stones are small and hammered, while the quoins are of limestone. The western gable is partly broken away.

The west door, as shown in the accompanying plan, is of four orders, the inmost being 2 ft. 10 in. wide at the base, and 2 ft. 8½ in. at the springing of the arch, by 6 ft. 8 in. in height; the second is 7 ft. 4 in.; the third, 8 ft. 1 in.; and the fourth, 8 ft. 11 in. high. It has a pediment which rises 6 ft. above the hood moulding; the latter, which is square, measuring 4 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., dies into the barge course of the pediment, this barge course terminating at each side by monsters' heads. Inside, the door is of two orders; it is formed



KILLESWIN DOORWAY.

of a singular mixture of granite and sandstone. Many of the ornaments are identical with those on the doorway of Timahoe, and also resemble some of the later work at Tomgraney. The keystone of the outer order bears a venerable human head carved in relief. The design called the trumpet pattern, or divergent spiral, appears among the other ornaments of this door. The jambs are rounded, but the orders of the arch preserve their square form, and are enriched with surface ornament, while the entablature which runs along the tops of the jambs is carved at the salient angles into human heads, the long interlaced hair of each head covering the surface of the stone back to the re-entrant angles. Each order of the doorway has engaged shafts at the angles. The bases have the beautiful feature of leaves connecting the bulbous portions with square plinths at the angles. The following inscriptions run along the abaci at each side, and the beginning of another occurs



on the front of the jamb of the second order on the north side which appears to have been continued to the top of the jamb :—

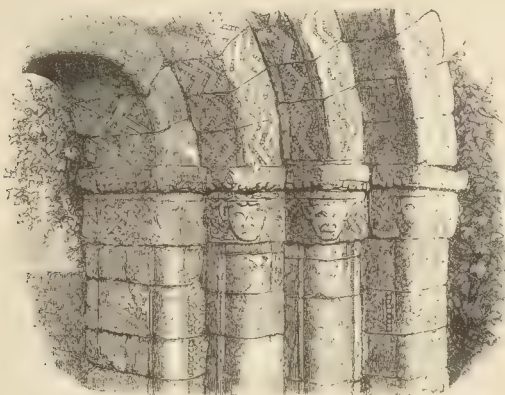
OR DO ART RIG LAGEN ACUS DO ON AERCHINNEC[H] . .
OR DO LENA UAMEL DUACH OR DO CELLAC [AMI]

The first inscription may be read—

Pray for Art King of Leinster, and for Steward. Pray for
. lena Ua Mel[lach, prince of Hy] Duach. Pray for Cellac

The territory of Hy Duach comes within a mile of this church.

The chancel arch was pulled down upwards of fifty years ago, and a great part of the south wall of the church destroyed. It is said to have contained two round-headed windows widely splayed inside. Two windows of the same character still remain in the north wall. The most perfect is 7 ft. in height by 3 ft. 6 in. internally, and is placed at a height of 9 ft. from the ground. There is a third window near the top of the west gable of the same form and character, but rather smaller.



DOORWAY OF KILLESWIN.

About twenty yards to the south-west of the entrance stood the belfry, a round tower of great height and beauty, the doorway of which faced that of the church, and was pulled down upwards of a century ago. In the flyleaf of a copy of the Irish Statutes, printed in the year 1700, the following manuscript entry respecting the destruction of this tower occurs :¹—"Munday ye 8th Day of March 1703. That day the Steeple of Killishan under-

¹ This is a copy of the Abridgment of the Printed Irish Statutes, printed by Crook, Dublin, now in the possession of R. Clayton Browne, Esq., D. L., Browne's Hill, Carlow.

mined and flung down by one Bambrick employed by Capt. Wolseley in Three Days Worke.

"1703. 8th March at 3 of the clock in y^e afternoone y^e steeple fell to y^e ground, being measured it was 105 foot highe or in Length."

Molyneux, writing in the year 1709, thus alludes to this tower :—"Near the foot of the mountain on this road stands the old church of Killeshin, which is a very old building. Here lately stood, over against the Doore of the Church, one of the old round steeples, which I am told was very high, old, and well built, so that when the owner of this place had it fallen, it came to the ground in one solid piece, and was not even by the fall against the ground so broke, but that several vast pieces yet remain sticking together, so that you easily discover what this building was.¹ It plainly appears to be of the same building and age with the adjacent church, and this was certainly an Irish building, as appears by two Inscriptions at each side of the door as you enter, which I transcribed."²

An anonymous writer, who made MS. additions to a copy of "Ware's Antiquities" upwards of a century ago, states that these buildings were of the same age; and preserves the name of the "barbarian," as Dr. Petrie in a letter to Dr. O'Donovan styles him, who had the tower pulled down :—"One Colonel Wolseley," "for which act," he adds, "the Bishop of Leighlin was very much displeased with him." The late William Morrison made drawings of this church and doorway for Dr. Petrie more than forty years ago, when the inscriptions were more perfect than now. (See Life of George Petrie, p. 204.)

HISTORICAL NOTES ON KILLESWIN.—This church is frequently mentioned under the title of Gleann Uiscean, and described as situated in the territory of Ui-Bairche.³ In the Martyrology of Donegal and the Calendar of Aengus the following saints belonging to this place are commemorated :—

"January 27, Muirghen, Abbot of Gleann-Uiscean; and February 27, Comdhan, called in the Calendar of Aengus 'Comgan without reproach,' and said in the Notes from the Leabar Brecc to have been the nephew of St. Columb-cille on his mother's side. He is said by Colgan to have been of the tribe of the Dalcassians in Thomond, where he erected a church called *Cleann-indis*. His death occurred before the year 570."⁴

¹ See in Harris's Hist. of the County of Down the account of the fall of Maghera Belfry, which lay like a great cannon.

² See Journey to Kilkenny in the year 1709, from MS. notes of Dr. Thos. Molyneux.—Journal of the Royal Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 302, 2nd Series.

³ A territory in the Queen's County, comprising the Barony of Slievemargy.

⁴ See Colgan, February 27th, p. 417.

July 8, Diarmaid, Bishop of Gleann Uissen, in Ui-Bairrche. He is of the race of Cathaoir Mór, monarch of Erin, of the Lagenians, and in the Calendar of Oengus he is styled, "Diarmait, a sure flame, bright sun of Glenn Uissen," is thus commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal.

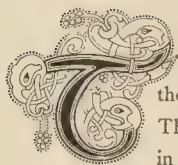
The Four Masters record the deaths of eight abbots of this place, commencing with Diarmaid, who died in the year 874, and ending with Caenchomraic, who died A.D. 1016. In the year 915 the death of a remarkable man is recorded, who was abbot of this place and called Archbishop of Leinster, and who fell in battle with the foreigners at Cenn Fuait, now Confehy in the County of Kildare. In the account of this battle in the wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill it is said, in commemoration of those who fell, "and Mael-maethog, son of Diarmaid, Abbot of Glenn Uissen and Archbishop of Laighin, a learned sage of the Gaedhil." He was probably an abbot-bishop, and called Ard (chief or eminent) bishop because of his rank or jurisdiction, and the Four Masters tell us that he was a distinguished scribe, anchorite, and learned sage in Latinity and in the Scotie speech, and in the Annals of Ulster he is called "a sage and bishop of Leinster." Killeshin was plundered by Diarmaid, son of Donchadh Mael-na-mbo, King of Leinster, as the Four Masters relate, A.D. 1041. "Glenn Uissen was plundered by the son of Mael-na-mbo, and the oratory was demolished, and seven hundred persons were carried off as prisoners from thence." In the year 1077 the same authorities relate, "Gleann Uisean, with its yews, was burned."

The existing early remains of the church of Killeshin were probably the work of a period soon after this destruction of the old buildings, that is, about the beginning of the twelfth century.

U L L A R D.

WEST DOOR OF CHURCH.

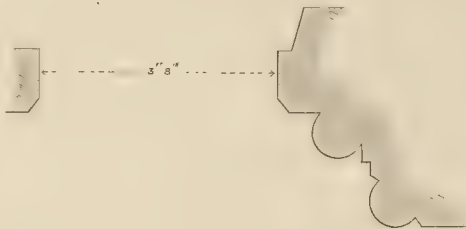
PLATE CX.



THIS church is situated in that part of the parish of Ullard which lies to the west of the Barrow, in the barony of Gowran and county of Kilkenny. The building consists of nave and chancel; the nave measures 32 ft. 6 in. in length by 23 ft. in width, the chancel is 24 ft. long by 17 ft. wide, and the walls are 3 ft. 4 in. thick. It is a large church for the date; the masonry is wide

¹ See Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 79.

jointed rubble with granite quoins. There are no projections or pilasters at the angles. The true doorway was of two orders; there is now a third or inner one, which is clearly a later insertion. A dripstone or label runs round the outer arch with very large pellets, and supported by animal heads, such as may be seen at Rahan and other places. The capitals were human heads, but they are nearly defaced; the bases are too much injured to be described. In the centre of the door-sill there is a round hole 6 in. deep, such as I never saw before.



PLAN OF DOORWAY, ULLARD.

There are two concentric chancel arches. The original is early work, as this angle moulding shows; the abacus is ornamented with incised chevrons, and the jambs are enriched with surface ornament in low relief. This arch appears to be coeval with the older part of the doorway, but it was remodelled not many centuries since. The lower part is built of good blocks of granite, but the upper part of rough slaty stones, quite out of character with the original work. The east window, which is comparatively modern, has two lights 2 ft. in length; it is formed of punched limestone. The south¹ and west windows were large and round-headed, and the voussoirs and jamb angles are carved as at Killevy. The west window is curious, and two figures may be seen carved on the top stone. These windows bear so strong a resemblance to those of Killeshin that they would seem to belong to the same period. In the west wall of the nave are corbels to support beams for a floor. A crypt or large vault extends under the chancel.

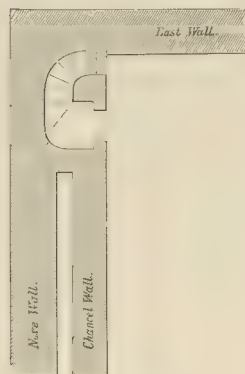
ANGLE OF SHAFT,
CHANCEL, ULLARD.ROUNDED ANGLE OF WINDOWS,
ULLARD.

[In a letter from Mr. Samuel Ferguson to the late Dr. Petrie, written in the year 1834, he describes some curious features in this building which have since fallen into

¹ The south window has a raised band or architrave round it outside, which runs up straight-sided to the apex, where it is crowned by a defaced head; the aperture beneath is round-headed. Near it at same side another round-headed window, of the same age, without an architrave.



decay. "Entering the chancel," he says, "the first object that catches the attention is a flat stone-roofed hutch, covering the descent to a transverse vault or crypt, with a low-arched roof, and lighted by a narrow slit in the wall on one end, while in the centre there is a recess containing some bones. In the north-east corner of the chancel a narrow square-



ULLARD.—PLAN OF STAIRS.

headed doorway may be seen with finely-chiselled jambs, on passing through which you come upon a stone staircase let into the thickness of the wall towards the gable. It is straight for a distance of about 6 ft. or 8 ft., where it becomes a spiral in a cylindrical chamber, now much dilapidated, but which when perfect evidently bulged at a height of about 6 ft. from the ground in the angle of the interior corner, and thus presents the appearance of a partially developed round tower in the inside of the church, while the thickness of the wall admitted this exterior sweep without breaking the squareness of the external quoin. How high this tower may have risen I cannot imagine." This spiral stair must have led to a chamber above, the corbels for the support of the upper story still remain.

This description would lead to the conjecture that there was a small round belfry springing from the corner of the church. There was a fine stone cross standing here some time ago, but nothing now remains of it save the base and the head. A representation of the Crucifixion and some other carvings¹ still exist on the eastern face of the cross. Two other crosses may be seen in the same churchyard, all which have been described and illustrated by Mr. O'Neill in his work on the Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland. Two ancient carved stone crosses, now in the graveyard of the Roman Catholic Chapel at Graigue-na-Managh, are said to have been brought from Ullard.

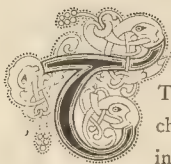
HISTORICAL NOTES ON ULLARD.—The ancient name of this place was Erard, and the church here may have been founded by St. Fiachra, who is thus commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal :—May. 2. Fiachra, Abbot of Erard in Ui Drona (that is, Idrone, in the county of Carlow). Nothing further is known of the history of this place.]

¹ There is a curious carving of *monkeys* and a very interesting one of a harper, besides others. The cross has lost part of its shaft, and the truncated head is fixed now in the base. Except for this mutilation it is in good condition."—*Letter from the Rev. James Graves to the Editor.*

TUAIM-DA-GHUALANN.

TUAM CATHEDRAL, CHANCEL ARCH.

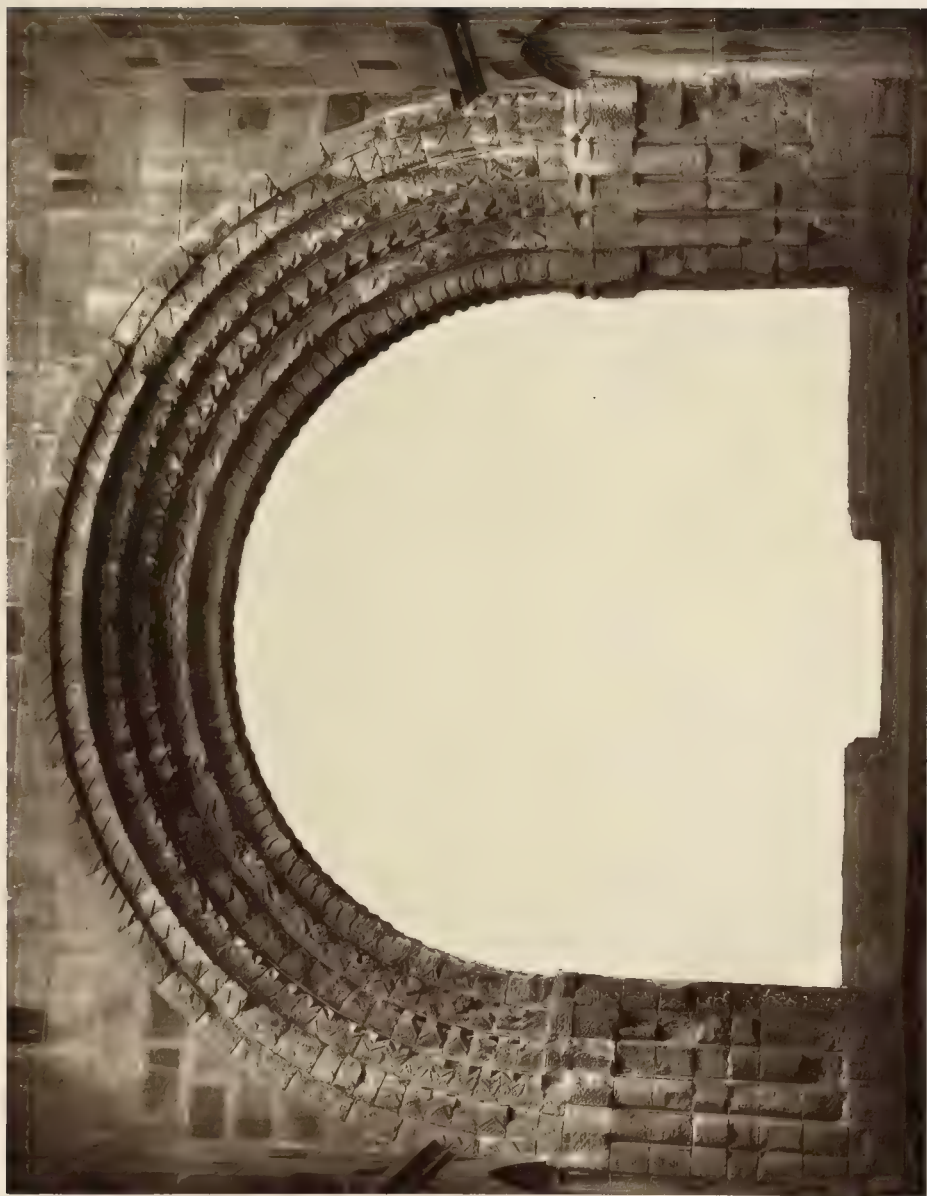
PLATE CXI.



TUAM is situated in the barony of Dunmore, in the county of Galway. The cathedral has been lately rebuilt, but the beautiful east window and chancel arch of St. Iarlath's church have been preserved and incorporated in the new structure. When Dr. Petrie visited Tuam the whole of the chancel of this older building was still standing, and he describes it thus :—"Of the ancient church of Tuam the chancel only remains; but, fortunately, this is sufficient to make us acquainted with its general style of architecture, and to show that it was not only a larger, but a more splendid structure than Cormac's church at Cashel, and not unworthy of the powerful monarch to whom it chiefly owed its erection. This chancel is a square of 26 ft. in external measurement, and the walls are 4 ft. in thickness."¹

The great feature of this chancel was, as Dr. Petrie observes, its triumphal arch. It is 20 ft. 6 in. wide, and 19 ft. 5 in. high; the arch is of six orders, springing from six shafts or engaged pillars, which are without ornament. These are all round, with the exception of the outer column on each side, which is square. The capitals, which are rectangular on a semicircular torus, are very richly sculptured with a variety of interlaced tracery, and in two instances with grotesque heads. The imposts are at one side enriched with a scroll and other ornaments, and on the other side present a kind of inverted ogee moulding. These imposts are carried along the face of the wall as tablets; the bases are plain, and consist of a torus and double plinth. The arch mouldings consist of the nebule, diamond fret, and varieties of the chevron, all carved with exquisite perfection. The original east window of the chancel remains; it is a triplet, consisting of circular-headed apertures, each 5 ft. high and 18 in. wide externally, but internally they splay to the width of 5 ft. On the faces between the three lights, and for some inches on each side are most elaborate carvings of interlaced work, like those on the Irish crosses and in the illuminated borders of some Irish manuscripts. As this is one of the most perfect examples I know of interlaced ornament in stone in a church, and as this church was a building of the early part of the twelfth century, it rather indicates the late date at which Irish designs were copied into church architecture. They are also ornamented with the zig-zag and other mouldings, both externally and

¹ Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture, p. 314.



internally, and they are connected with each other by label or string-course mouldings, of which the external one is enriched by pateræ. In the south wall there is a similarly ornamented window, but of smaller size.



HEAD OF CROSS, TUAM.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON TUAM CATHEDRAL.—This cathedral was founded by St. Iarlath in the sixth century, from whom it was formerly named, and whose memory is still venerated in the diocese of Tuam on the 6th of June.¹ He first founded a school at Cluainfois, which is believed to have been near Tuam. To the latter place he afterwards moved by the advice of St. Brendan, of Clonfert, and he became the first bishop of Tuam. He died on the 26th of December, on which day his memory is venerated in the Calendars. He was buried at Tuam, in a chapel called Scrin or Shrine. He is described in the Martyrology of Donegal as the noble Iarlaithe, a cleric who practised not penury and who used to perform three hundred genuflexions every day and the same number every night.

The obits of four abbots of Tuam are recorded from the year 776 to 1032, but the successors of Iarlath are not termed bishops till the year 1085. The church was burned in the years 1128, 1155, and 1164, and the obits of eight bishops are recorded, the last being at the date 1602.

¹ Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. pp. 41, 43.

There can be little doubt, as already proved by Dr. Petrie,¹ that the building to which this chancel arch and east window belonged was erected by O'Hoisin, abbot of Tuam, between the years 1128, when he became abbot, and 1150, when he succeeded as archbishop. He was probably assisted in this work by Turlogh O'Connor, king of Connaught. Dr. Petrie points out the similarity that exists in the ornamental design and execution of the sculptured work in this church, to other monuments which belong



BASE OF CROSS, TUAM.

to the same date, and some of which bear the name of this great king, such as the archiepiscopal crozier of Tuam, made to enshrine a piece of the true cross which came into Ireland in the year 1123, and two stone crosses which belonged also to this very church, and were probably two of the terminal crosses of the sanctuary, on the sides of which a prayer is requested for this very king, by whose desire, and at whose cost, the work was executed. The inscriptions on the back and front of the base run thus :—

[OR] DO U OSSIN: DOND ABBAD: LA(SA)N DERN(AD).

(Pray for O'Hossin, for the Abbot, by whom was made).

OR DO THOIRDELBUCH U CHONCHOBUIR DONT . . . UR I[ARLATH][E]

. . . . S INDE[R]N]AD IN SAER

(Pray for Turlogh O'Connor, for the of Iarlath, by whom was made this . . .)

These inscriptions run along the base of a great stone cross, now placed as the market cross in the town of Tuam, and prove that this monument was the work of a period when Aed O'Hoisin was still abbot of Tuam, that was between the years 1126 and 1150, when he was made bishop. The second cross bears the following inscriptions :—

¹ Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture, p. 312.

OR DON RIG DO THURDELBUCH U CHONCHOB AIR.

OR DONT HAER DO GILLU CR[IST] UTHUATHAIL.

(Pray for the King, for Turdelbach, descendant of Conchobar.)

(Pray for the artizan [sacr], for Gillachrist, descendant of Tuathal.)

OR DO CHOMARBA IARLATHE DO AED U OSSIN

[LAS]IN DERNAD IN CHROSSA.

(Pray for the successor of Iarlath, for Aed O Hoisin, by whom this Cross was made).

Here it will be seen Aed O'Hoisin is styled "chomarba," or successor of Iarlath, a title that may, and probably does, imply that he was bishop at the period at which this cross was raised, that is, between the years 1150 and 1161, when this bishop died.

It seems probable that the church was erected during the abbacy of O'Hoisin, since the crosses were not likely to be executed before the building to which they, as it were, served as accessories; and thence it may safely be assumed that the church of St. Iarlath, to which this arch belonged, was erected between the years 1126 and 1150. It is to be lamented that the name of the sculptor Gillachrist, descendant of Tuathal, who probably executed the decoration on the east window and chancel arch of the church to which these crosses belonged, as well as that of the crosses themselves, is not to be found in the Irish Annals.

ACHADH-ÚR.

FRESHFORD, COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

PLATE CXII.



FRESHFORD is situated in the parish of that name in the barony of Crannagh in the county of Kilkenny. The name is a mis-translation from the Irish, which signifies "fresh field"—Achadh-úr; the word Achadh, a field, being mistaken for Ath, a ford.¹ Nothing remains of the old church, probably erected in the twelfth century, except the west gable and porch, which is a deeply recessed, round-headed archway of four orders, surmounted by a pediment. The outer order is 9 ft. 4 in. high, the second 9 ft. 1 in., the third 8 ft. 6 in., and the fourth 7 ft. 10 in. Mr. Brash has given the following account of the details of this doorway:—"The external order is a broad square member, carved on the face and soffit with a curious fret ornament often

¹ See Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, p. 36.

found in ancient manuscripts; the front face has a human head for a keystone, the ends of the soffits terminating in grotesque heads which rest on the capitals. This member is supported by two columns at each side, each pair under a cap common to both. They are carved with human heads and lizards, the abacus composed of a square and deep hollow, with the ball ornament, and a bold fillet; the shafts have moulded bases which rest upon



CARVINGS ON DOOR, FRESHFORD.

a continuous plinth. . . . The next order is also a square member carved with chevrons on the faces and soffit, and resting upon one pillar at each side, which have capitals similar to those already described, excepting that the bells are scalloped and the bases are enriched with carving. The third order is of similar character to the last, both in its arch and pillars. The doorway is revealed, and has square jambs which slightly slope; it is semi-circular-headed, and around the external face of its arch is an inscription in the Irish character and language." The external order of the porch was crowned by an effective label, consisting of a fillet and hollow, filled with the ball ornament; the terminations of which, outside, are two square panels, that on the left showing a man on

horseback, and that on the right two figures, both very indistinct and much worn.

There was a high-pitched gable over this porch, some traces of the lower parts of which remain; the upper part of the wall having been rebuilt, the pilasters alone remain. This porch is a very beautiful object, almost classical in the symmetry and chasteness of its details.

The inscription mentioned in the above passage as running round the inner arches is as follows :—

ŌR DO GILLEMCHOLMÓC [U] CE[NN]CUCAIN DO RIGNI
ŌR DO NEIM I[N]GIN CUIRC ACUS DO MATHGAMAIN U CHIARMEIC LASIN DERNAD IN TEMPULSA.

(Pray for Gille Mocholmóc descendant of Cenncucan, who made [this].)

Pray for Niam, daughter of Corc, and for Mathgamain descendant of Chiarmac by whom this temple was built.)

On this inscription Dr. Petrie remarks :—" It is to be regretted, that neither our annals nor genealogical books preserve the names of any of the persons recorded in this inscription, so that it is impossible to determine exactly the period at which they flourished; but it is obvious, from the surnames applied to the three individuals concerned, that they could not have lived earlier than the eleventh century, when the use of hereditary surnames was



generally established in Ireland. And that the Mathgamain, or Mahon, O'Ciarmac, whose name is here inscribed, was a chieftain of the district, might be naturally inferred from the inscription itself, even if no other historical evidence existed; but this inference is rendered certain by a passage in the book of Lecan, fol. 96 *b*, in which we find a Leinster family, of this name, mentioned as one of the six tribes descended from Fergus Luascan, who was the son of Cathaoir Mor, monarch of Ireland in the second century, and the ancestor of almost all the distinguished chieftain families of Leinster. It appears, moreover, from a passage occurring in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1087, that a Conall O'Ciarmac was then a chief of some distinction in the Leinster army. . . . I may also remark, that the name O'Ciarmac is still common in the county of Kilkenny, though usually metamorphosed into the English name Kerwick or Kirby by those speaking English.

The name of the female in this inscription is probably that of the wife of Mathgamain, or Mahon, as it was the custom anciently in Ireland, and indeed still is to some extent, for married women to retain their paternal names. Of the name O'Cuir, which is now anglicised Quirk, there were two chieftain families in Ireland, as appears from the book of Lecan, fol. 105 *b* and fol. 115 *b*, one seated in the territory of Fothart Airbreach, in Leinster, and the other in Muscraige Chuir, now the barony of Clanwilliam, in the county of Tipperary; but it would be idle to conjecture to which of these families this Lady Niam belonged. Of the third name, which is undoubtedly an Irish one, it is only necessary to remark, that as it was clearly that of the architect, it may not have belonged to the district, as professional men of that description exercised their art wherever they found employment; and that many of them were of distinguished celebrity in their day is sufficiently proved from records of their deaths, which have found place in the Irish Annals."¹

HISTORICAL NOTES ON FRESHFORD.—The abbey here was founded by St. Lachtain, whose memory is venerated on the 19th of March. In the Martyrology of Donegal we read:—

"Lachtain, of Achadh-úr in Osraighe, and of Bealach Feabhra, A.D. 622. He was of the race of Conaire, son of Moghlamha, monarch of Erin, who was of the seed of Heremon. The Life of Mochaemhóg, chap. 8, states that holy Lachtain, who erected the monastery of Achadh-úr, was a disciple of Comhgall of Beannchor." The death of this saint is recorded by the Four Masters at A.D. 622. "St. Lachtnain, son of Torben, Abbot of Achadh-úr, died on the 10th [*recte* 19th] of March."

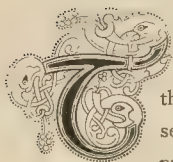
¹ Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 283.

Dr. O'Donovan adds in a note, "Colgan gives a short Life of this saint at 19 Martii. He was a native of Muscraighe [Muskerry], in the present county of Cork, and erected a church at Bealach-Feabhradh, which is probably the place now called Ballagharay, or Ballaghawry, a townland situated in the west of the parish of Kilbolane, barony of Orbhraighe, or Orrery, and county of Cork." There is a well called Tobar Lachtin near Freshford, which is dedicated to him. Little more is known of the history of this church afterwards. The Four Masters record the deaths of three ecclesiastics besides Lachtnain who belonged to Achadh-úr, at the dates 809, 899, and 1018. Freshford is now a parish church in the diocese of Ossory.



PORCH OF FRESHFORD CHURCH.

CLONMACNOIS.



HIS monastery is situated on the eastern bank of the river Shannon in the barony of Garrycastle, and the King's County. It was long the chief seat of religion and first school of art and learning in the country. The present aspect of the place has been thus beautifully described by Dr. Petrie.¹

"The scenery of Clonmacnois is of a character altogether lonely, sublime, and poetic. We stood on a gentle eminence above the margin of a noble and majestic river, on which, among a multitude of ancient grave-stones, are placed two lofty round towers and seven or eight churches, presenting almost every variety of ancient Irish Christian architecture. A few lofty ash trees, that seem of equal antiquity and sanctity with these ruins, wave their nearly leafless branches above the dead. To the right an elevated causeway carries the eye along the river to the ruins of an ancient nunnery, and on the left still remain the walls of an old castle, once the palace of the bishops, not standing, but rather tumbled about in huge masses, on the summit of a lofty mound or rath, surrounded by a ditch or fosse, now no longer necessary, which once received the waters from the mighty stream. The background is everywhere in perfect harmony with the nearer objects of this picture; the chains of bare hills on either side, now sere and wild, but once rich with woodland beauty, shut out the inhabited country we so lately left, and the eye and mind are free to wander with the majestic river in all its graceful windings through an uninhabited and uninhabitable desert, till it is lost in the obscurity of distance. Loneliness and silence, save the sounds of the elements, have here an almost undisturbed reign. Sometimes, indeed, the attention is drawn by the scream of the wild-fowl which inhabit this solitary region or the shot of the lonely sportsman. At other times we could hear the measured time of the oar, or rather paddle, of a solitary boat, long before the little speck on the water became visible.

"There is not, perhaps, in Europe a spot where the spirit would find more matter for melancholy reflection than among the ancient churches of Clonmacnois. Its ruined buildings call forth national associations and ideas. They remind us of the arts and

¹ MS. History of Clonmacnois (Library Royal Irish Academy).

literature, the piety and humanity, which distinguished their time, and are the work of a people who, in a dark age, marched among the foremost on the road to life and civilization, but who were unfortunately checked and barbarized by those who were journeying in the same course and ought to have cheered them on."

The name *Cluain-mic-Nois* (*Cluain-maccu-nois* in Old-Irish, Zeuss, G. C., pref. xxxiii.) means the Meadow of the son of Nos.

This establishment was founded about the year 544, by St. Ciaran, as we read in the *Chronicon Scotorum* (A.D. 544, p. 49), "Ciaran the Great, son of the Carpenter, *quievit* in the thirty-third year of his age; in the seventh month, also, after he began to build Cluain-muc-Nois;" and it is added in the *Annals of Clonmacnois*, that "his body was buried in the Little Church of Clonvicknose."

In the ancient records of this place we find that the king, Diarmaid Mac Cerbhaill, aided Ciaran with his own hands to raise the humble edifice, and the still humbler cell which adjoined it; the monarch, at the time, being himself actually an outcast, on whose life a price was fixed, and who was seeking shelter from his persecutors in the wilderness to which the saint had come for solitude and repose. After the death of St. Ciaran, in gratitude for some benefit that King Diarmaid deemed he had received miraculously at his touch, he made the monastery a grant of three or four parcels of land in perpetuity; and to this donation his descendants, who chose the cemetery of Clonmacnois for their place of sepulture, added many other gifts of the same kind: thus the wealth of the community accumulated; and its power and influence increased. But it was not to these causes alone that Clonmacnois owed its fame, or the veneration in which it was held. It gradually became the chief school in Ireland; and we have many interesting evidences of its early celebrity as such. In the latter part of the eighth century we find that the fame of one of its lectors, Colcu, had spread to the Continent. He was the author of the *Scaip Chrabhaidh*, i. e. the Besom of Devotion, transcribed by Colgan from the Book of Clonmacnois (which latter, according to O'Donovan, is probably the manuscript called *Leabhar na hUidhre*); and the high estimation in which Colcu was held is proved by his being called the "Chief Scribe and Master of the Scoti in Ireland;" and by a letter to him from Alcuin, then residing at the court of Charlemagne, which is preserved among Archbishop Ussher's *Epistolæ Hibernicæ*, (Epist. xviii., Works, vol. iv., p. 466), beginning "From the humble priest, Alcuine, to the blessed master and pious father Colcu, greeting;" and concluding thus: "I have sent for thy charity some oil, which at present is scarcely found in Britain; that you may dispense it through the stations of bishops where it is required, for the use of men or the honour of God. I have also sent fifty shekels for the brotherhood,

of the alms of king Charles (I adjure you to pray for him); and of my own alms fifty shekels; and to the brothers in the south at Baldhuninga, thirty shekels of the king's alms, and thirty of my own alms; and twenty shekels of the alms of the king to the family of Areid, and twenty of my own alms; and to each of the Anchorites three shekels of pure silver; that they all may pray for me and for our lord king Charles, that God may preserve him for the protection of his holy Church, and for the praise and glory of his name." The death of Colcu is thus given in the *Annals*, A.D. 789:—"Colgu Ua Duineachda, lector of Cluain-mic-Nois, he who composed the *Scaip Chrabhaidh*, died."¹ This work of his is described by Colgan as "*opus plenum ardentissima devotione et elevatione mentis in Deum*" (*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 379, n. 9).

The next most famous scholar we meet with in the history of this monastery was Suibhine Mac Maelchumai, a drawing of whose tombstone may be found in the *Christian Inscriptions of Ireland*.² He lived in the ninth century. His death is given by the Four Masters at 887, in the *Annales Cambriæ* under 889, and by Florence of Worcester at 892, by whom he is styled "*Doctor Scotorum peritissimus*." It is to be regretted that none of his works have come down to us.

Among other celebrated names connected with Clonmacnois, it will be enough to enumerate those of Colman, who, in the early part of the tenth century, erected the great church and the cross still standing there; of Donnchadh O'Braoin; and of Fachtna, the learned professor and priest of Clonmacnois, who became abbot of Iona and "the most distinguished abbot of the *Gacidhil*:" he died at Rome in the year 1024, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage. But the most remarkable of all the scholars of Clonmacnois was Tighearnach Ua Braoin, the *Annalist of Ireland*, and the authority most commonly appealed to by modern writers on Irish history. That his learning was varied and extensive is proved by the examination of his *Annals* in detail. He quotes Eusebius, Orosius, Sex. Julius Africanus, Josephus, St. Jerome, Bede, and many other learned writers. He also appears to have been familiar with some of the modes of correcting the Calendar. He mentions the Lunar Cycle and uses the Dominical Letter with the Kalends of several years. He was abbot of both Clonmacnois and Roscommon, and died in the year 1088, as we learn from the following entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters*: A.D. 1088, "*Tighearnach Ua*

¹ There are two entries of his death in the Four Masters, A.D. 789 (*recte* 794), "*Colgu Ua Duineachda, lecturer of Cluain-mic-Nois, he who composed the Scaip Chrabhaidh [died]*"; and A.D. 791 (*recte* 796), "*Colca the Wise died*."

² Vol. i. p. 39, fig. 81.

Braoin, chief successor of Ciaran and Coman, died in *imdha Chiarain*¹ (Ciaran's bed). He was a paragon of learning and history."

The most distinguished ecclesiastic connected with this ancient church in the eleventh century was named Conn na mBocht, that is, Conn of the Poor. The Four Masters contain a notice of this Conn at 1031, which is the earliest passage in which the Céili-Dé of Clonmacnois are mentioned, but from which we may infer that a body so called had been for some time in existence there:—"Conn na mBocht, head of the Céili-Dé, and anchorite of Clonmacnois, the first who invited a company of the poor of Cluain at Iseal-Chiarain, and who presented twenty cows of his own to it." In his essay on the Culdees, Dr. Reeves remarks that the account given in the Annals of this man and his son helps to prove the connection existing between the Céili-Dé and an hospital. A tract of low ground near Clonmacnois, called Iseal Chiarain, was the site of this institution, and Conn na mBocht was succeeded by his son Maelchiaran in the presidency of it when, in the year 1079, Murchadh O'Melaghlin made a forcible descent upon it, and maltreated the Céili-Dé and the superintendent of the poor; Maelchiaran was killed on this occasion.

The final destruction of Clonmacnois at the time of the Reformation is thus pathetically described in the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 1552:—"Clonmacnois was plundered and devastated by the Galls of Athlone, and the large bells were carried from the Cloicthech. There was not left, moreover, a bell, small or large, an image or an altar, or a book, or a gem, or even glass in a window from the wall of the church out, which was not carried off. Lamentable was this deed, the plundering of this city of Ciaran the holy patron."

The monastery of Clonmacnois seems to have been singularly rich in objects of art. The altar of the great church there was adorned with jewels, which were carried away when it was plundered in the year 1129. The annalists enumerate, among the things stolen, a model of Solomon's Temple; the cup of Donnchadh, son of Flann; the three jewels presented by King Turlough O'Connor—also a silver goblet, a silver cup with a gold cross over it, and a drinking horn of gold; the drinking horn of Ua Riada, King of Aradh; a silver chalice with a burnishing of gold upon it, with an engraving by the daughter of Ruaidri O'Connor; and the silver cup of Ceallach, successor of Patrick. The crozier of Ciaran also is mentioned in the year 930. The shrine of St. Manchan, at Lemanaghan, within a few miles of

¹ This was a couch covered by the skin of the saint's cow. O'Donovan was wrong in supposing it to be a religious establishment.

Clonmacnois, is another work of this school, which we are told was executed in the year 1166, by "Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, and an embroidery of gold was carried over it by him in as good a style as a relic was ever covered in Ireland."¹ This shrine is still in existence,² and forms a fine example of late Celtic Christian art,



Many other treasures of this class, beautiful specimens of the goldsmith's and jeweller's art, have from time to time been found in Clonmacnois, and are preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy and in the Petrie collection now deposited there, all showing the same high skill and true feeling for art that characterize the sculpture and architecture of this district from the latter part of the ninth to the twelfth century. But many have, we fear, been lost. Dr. Petrie, writing in the year 1821, says: "Some thirty years ago, the tomb of St. Ciaran was searched, in expectation of finding treasure, when a rosary of brass wire was discovered; a hollow ball of the same material, which opened, a chalice and wine vessel for the altar, and the crozier of St. Ciaran, were also found. These curious relics fell into ignorant hands, and were not, probably, deemed worthy of preservation; but there is reason

¹ See O'Donovan's Notes to *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 843-4.

² It is still in fair preservation, and is now preserved on a side altar, beneath a glass case, in the modern Roman Catholic Chapel of Boher, not far from Lemanaghan, under the care of the Rev. John Dardis, P.P. See *Church and Shrine of St. Manchan*, by the Rev. James Graves, Dublin, 1875.

to believe that the last-mentioned—the crozier of St. Ciaran—still exists. It was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries about the year 1760.”¹

The antiquities still remaining at Clonmacnois may properly be divided into three classes:—buildings, stone crosses, and sepulchral slabs. Of the first, there are the remains of eight ecclesiastical structures, with two round towers, and an ancient



GROUND PLAN, CLONMACNOIS.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| A. O'Rorke's Belfry. | I. Belfry of Temple Finghin. |
| B. Temple Hurpan. | K. Temple Finghin. |
| C. Cathedral. | L. Sacristy. |
| D. Temple Ri, or Melaglin's Church. | M. Temple Doolin. |
| E. Temple Kelly. | N. Temple Gauny. |
| F. Temple Conor. | O. Bishop's Chapel. |
| G. Temple Kieran. | P. Temple Killen. |
| H. Cemetery of Malone Family. | Q. Residential Houses. |
| | R, R, R. Crosses. |

castle; of the second, there are two large crosses standing, one of which was erected in memory of King Flann, by the Abbot Colman, in the early part of the tenth century; and of the third class, there were upwards of one hundred and forty when Dr. Petrie visited Clonmacnois in early life.

¹ Gough's Camden, vol. ii. p. 362.

RELIG-NA-CAILLEACH.

THE NUN'S CHURCH, CLONMACNOIS.

PLATES CXIII. AND CXIV.



HE Nun's Church, or Relig-na-Cailleach, is situated eastward of the cemetery of Clonmacnois. The ancient road or causeway, leading from the cathedral and cashel or enclosing wall, is still in existence.

The church consists of nave and chancel; the former is 36 ft. in length, by 19 ft. 6 in. in width, and the walls 3 ft. thick; the chancel is 14 ft. 6 in. by 13 ft., and the walls are 3 ft. 3 in. thick. The side walls are low, in some places only 2 ft. in height; they are of the hard limestone of the country, and only hammer-dressed. The arch is of sandstone.¹

The entrance is at the west end. It and the chancel arch have of late been judiciously restored.² This doorway is 7 ft. in height to the springing of the arch, and 2 ft. 10 in. wide at the base, and 2 ft. 8½ in. at the top of the jambs. It is deeply recessed and of four orders, the two inner jambs are rectangular shafts, the outer are rounded into pillars with shallow bases and imposts. The external shafts had a plain chamfered abacus, and the hood moulding or outer arch terminates with heads of the same character as those in the small church at Rahen. The jambs were richly ornamented with incised chevrons and other designs. The outer arch was enriched with pellets, the inner with chevron blocks incised with bold lines; the third with heads with rolls in their mouths, or with beak-head or cat's-head moulding, deeply undercut, and the front face enriched with incised traceries, and chevrons and pellets upon the soffit of the arch. This doorway has eel-heads terminating the zigzags, but they are not so distinct as those on M'Carthy's church close by, where they had been covered by accumulated earth until lately.

The chancel arch is round and of four orders. It is 9 ft. 2 in. wide at the base, and 7 ft. 6 in. high to the top of the impost, making about 12 ft. for the height of the arch; from outer pier to pier it is 15 ft. 6 in. wide. The impost mouldings above the capitals, and the capitals themselves, have much the same character as the small church

¹ It is not necessary to believe, as some writers have asserted, that this material was brought from Caen. A very fine, close-grained, quartzose sandstone, such as is used in the old crosses in the cemetery of Clonmacnois, can be procured in the Slieve Bloom Mountains in the King's County.

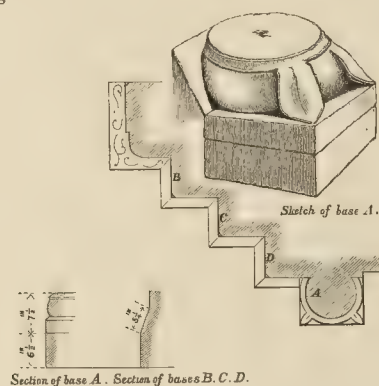
² Extensive and careful works of conservation were carried out at Clonmacnois not many years since, under the direction of the Rev. James Graves, M. R. I. A.

at Rahen. A pear-shaped ornament is on the inner order and there are small heads like large pellets on the outer, while an interlaced design is to be seen on one capital.

The alternate interrupted zigzag or chevron on the middle arch is remarkable, and occurs also on the arch of the recessed tomb in the south wall of the Cathedral of Killaloe.

The capitals and ornaments of the piers are totally unlike anything in England, and, if taken by themselves, would appear to be of much earlier character than the arch.

It is impossible to determine the position of the windows in this building since the walls are so much destroyed, but the top of a small round-headed window with a reveal was found among the ruins.



CHANCEL ARCH, NUN'S CHURCH.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE NUN'S CHURCH, CLONMACNOIS.—This church was erected by Queen Dervorgilla, wife of O'Rorke, King of Connaught, and finished in the year 1167. It appears that it was built upon the site of an older stone church, which is alluded to by the Annalists in the following passages :—

"A.D. 1026. The paved way from the garden of the abbess to the station of the three crosses was made by Breasal Conailleach at Clonmacnois."

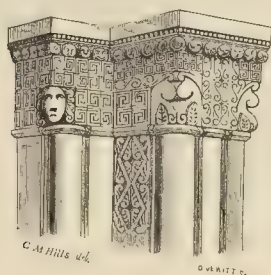
"A.D. 1080. A great part of West Meath, viz. of Delvin, Cwirckney, and others, were slain by Donnell Mac Flynn, O'Melaughlyn, king of Meath, on Loghry, and also the houses in the churchyard of the nunes of Clonvicknose, together with their church, was burnt." (Annals of Clonmacnois.)

"A.D. 1082. The cemetery of the Nuns of Cluain-mic-Nois was burned, with its stone church, and with the eastern third of all the establishment." (Ann. Four Masters.)





In these entries the "garden of the abbess" and the "cemetery of the Nuns" refer to the enclosure within the cashel surrounding the nunnery, remains of which may still be seen, while "the houses in the churchyard of the nunes of Clonvicknose," were the dwellings of the holy women for whose use the stone church served as a place of worship. The paved way alluded to here, may have been a restoration by Breasal Conailleach of that causeway which is mentioned by the Four Masters in the following passage at the date 918:—"A great flood this year, so that the water reached the



abbot's fort of Clonmacnois, and to the causeway of the Monument of the Three Crosses." This causeway, which probably led from the older nunnery to this monument, was continued on from this to Cross Chomgaill in the year 1070, and "thence westwards to the entrance of the street." It may still be seen in good preservation along with the monument now called the Carn of the Three Crosses, which is surmounted by a stone bearing the following inscription:—

"OROIT AR THURCAIN LASAN DERNAD IN CHROSSA.

(Pray for Turcain, by whom this cross was made.)"

The history of the queen who erected the Nun's Church, now standing at Clonmacnois, is too well known to need insertion here. It will be sufficient to state here the mere outline of the facts of her life, which may lead to an approximate conclusion as to the exact date of this building. She was the daughter of Donnell MacMurrough O'Melaughlin, styled Prince of all Ireland and King of Meath, and his wife More, who both died in the year 1137. Dervorgilla was born in the year 1108,¹ and married Tiernan O'Rorke, Prince of Brefny, probably at a very early age, for in the year 1124 we read of the death of O'Rorke's son. In her forty-fourth year we read:—"A.D. 1152, Dearbhforgaill, daughter

¹ See Annals of the Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 96, note c.

of Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn, and wife of Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, was brought away by the King of Leinster (*i.e.* Diarmaid), with her cattle and furniture;" and in the Annals of Clonmacnois is added: "She was procured and induced thereunto by her unadvised brother, Melaughlin, for some abuses of her husband, Tyernan, done to her before. She was carried by the King of Leinster to his castle at Ferns, and in the next year we read that an army was led by Turlough O'Connor to a place called the Oak Wood of the Fork, against Dermot Mac Murrough, and they took away Dervorgilla from him with her cattle, so that she was in the power of the men of Meath; and on this occasion Tiernan O'Rorke came into his house, and left him hostages, and the annalist adds at the same date that Dervorgilla then "came from the King of Leinster (Diarmaid) to Tighearnan Ua Ruairc again." The next fact recorded of her is when in the year 1157 certain gifts are enumerated as presented to the abbey of Mellifont, among which three-score ounces of gold, and a chalice of gold on the altar of Mary, and a cloth for each of the nine other altars that were in that church, were sent by Dervorgilla. It was during this period that we may believe she also erected the Church of the Nuns at Clonmacnois which was finished ten years after she left King Dermot, as is thus recorded by the Four Masters:—

"A.D. 1167. The Church of the Nuns at Cluain-mic-Nois was finished by Dearbh-forgaill, daughter of Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn."

The last entry in the Annals regarding this Queen is as follows:—

"A.D. 1193. Dervorgilla (*i.e.* the wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, daughter of Murrough O'Melaghlin), died in the monastery of Drogheda (Mellifont), in the eighty-fifth year of her age."



TEMPUL UI MAELSHECHLAINN.

O'MELAGHLIN'S CHURCH, CLONMACNOIS.

PLATE CXV.



MELAGHLIN was the name borne by the hereditary Kings of Meath, for whose use this building was erected as a mortuary chapel in the cemetery of Clonmacnois.¹ It is termed Temple Ri or the church of the Kings, in a ground plan of this churchyard given by Ware (*Antiquities*, p. 97), its occupation by the O'Melaghlin's, who were chief kings, giving this a precedence in a place where there were five royal mortuary chapels besides.

This church stands south-east of the cathedral; it measures 40 ft. 6 in. by 17 ft. 9 in.; the walls are 3 ft. 3 in. thick on the gables; they appear to be nearly their original height, which was about 15 ft. The masonry is of coarse spawled rubble; the material limestone. In the south wall towards the west end is a plain pointed doorway, without chamfer or label. In the same wall, close to the east gable, is a plain pointed lancet, 5 ft. 3 in. high, and 6 in. wide externally, with large inward splays. The only other window to be found in this building is that one with the double light in the east gable; this consists of two semicircular-headed lancets, 5 ft. 10 in. high, and 7¼ in. wide externally, but splaying internally to a width of 5 ft. 5½ in. each. The apertures are moulded on the external arrises, and have hood mouldings, which connect horizontally at the spring of the arches. The internal jambs are also moulded on the arrises, which moulding is continued across the sills, under which is a double-chamfered string. The dressings of this aperture are of sandstone. Neither of these lights appears to have been glazed. This edifice is evidently of a late date, excepting the east window, which is certainly a relic of an older church that had existed on this site, or else on the site of the cathedral; it has no other feature of antiquity about it, and must be entirely a mediæval erection.

¹ For account of the O'Melaghlin's, kings of Meath, see *Life of George Petrie*, p. 426.

CLUAIN FERTA.

CLONFERT. WEST DOORWAY OF CHURCH.

PLATES CXVI. AND CXVII.



HIS church is situated in the parish of Clonfert, in the barony of Longford, and county of Galway. It stands close to the banks of the river Shannon. The building was evidently remodelled at various periods, and it is now used as the parish church. It consisted of nave, chancel, and transepts, one of which still remains. The chancel, which is evidently the oldest part of the building, is $27\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long by 22 ft. in breadth. The nave measures 54 ft. in length and 27 ft. 6 in. in breadth clear of walls. The masonry of this building is in irregular courses of rough sandstone, just as they came from the quarry, laid in rough mortar with no ashlar work. The gables are of a high pitch, but so covered with thick ivy that there is no way of seeing what was the nature of the roof; the south wall of the nave is about 14 or 15 ft. high, and 2 ft. 6 in. thick, while that of the chancel is only 2 ft. thick.

The doorway is of sandstone; there are two pilasters supporting the pediment and five orders. The width across from one outer pilaster to another is 13 ft. 4 in. at the base, and 12 ft. 10 in. at the top; from the innermost of the five pillars, it is 5 ft. 2 in. broad at the base, and 4 ft. 9 in. at the top. The actual width of the present door is 3 ft. 1 in. The straight sides of the pediment are of the rope pattern, with human heads at top and bottom; there is interlacing on the columnar arch, a row of bosses all of different patterns runs round the arch, among them the divergent spiral or trumpet pattern may be seen. One order is ornamented with disks, with central holes, another of beak heads; there is some very fine undercutting.

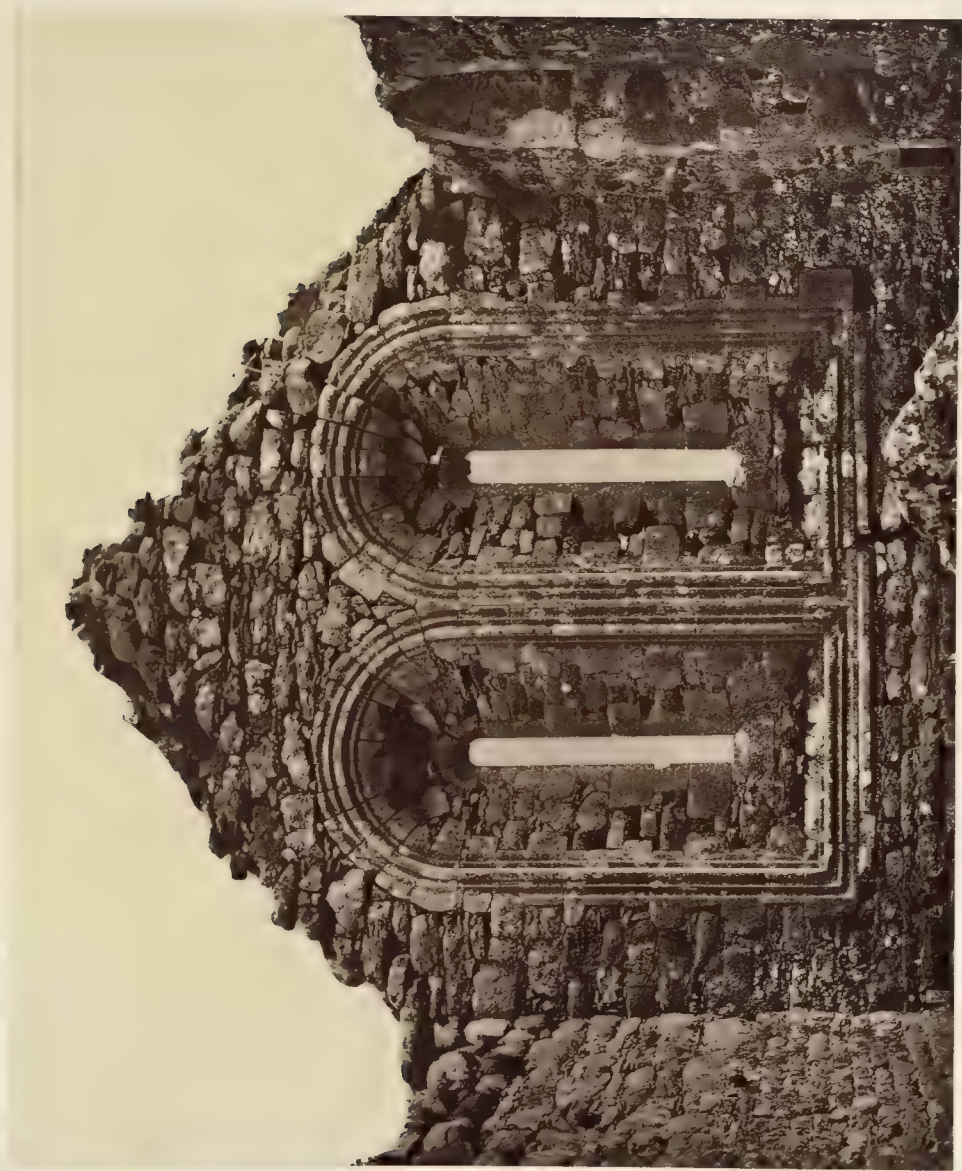
Mr. Brash, in his work on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 42, gives the following careful description of this remarkable doorway:—

“The door-head has six orders of arches, resting upon a similar number of jamb-shafts and piers at each side. Three of these shafts are circular, and two semi-octagonal—these, with the external and internal rectangular piers, have richly-sculptured capitals, having square abaci with dogs’ heads in the hollow under, the bells showing grotesque heads—human and animal—with a variety of interlaced work. The entire surfaces of the piers and jamb-shafts are covered with an amazing variety of ornament, showing a marvellous fertility of invention. Being incised, much of it is worn and



TEMPÚL CHRÓNAIN

ST CRONAN'S CHURCH, TARMON, COUNTY OF CLARE







defaced, but the design of every separate member can be discerned. The bases are unfortunately buried in the earth, and cannot at present be described. The external member of the arch is a boldly projecting label, carved all over in an interlacing pattern, the terminations of which are composed of grotesque animals resting on the capitals of the external piers. The next order is enriched with a line of semi-globes (close set), their surfaces carved into a variety of leaf patterns, very pleasing and ingenious. The next has an undercut moulding with a line of enriched circular pateras. The next is composed of circular pateras and flat rings in bold relief, all richly carved. The next order has a cable pattern on the arris, the surface being ornamented with oblong pateras of varied design, and deeply undercut. The next has a torus on the arris (undercut), with a line of dogs' heads of large size, close set, and represented as biting the torus moulding. These heads are remarkably well cut, and exhibit a wonderful variety of expression. The inner member finishes with an enrichment of leaves. It is to be remarked, that the soffits of every member, as well as the faces, are carved; in fact there is not a square inch of any portion of this beautiful doorway without the mark of the sculptor's tool, every bit of the work being finished with the greatest accuracy. Some of the heads of the capitals have a strong resemblance to those from the chancel arch of Tuam Cathedral. The gable is of very acute pitch. The barge course is carved on the edge into a double rope-moulding springing from animal figures (nearly defaced), and terminating at the apex in a finial composed of three human heads. The tympanum over the door-head has an arcade of five semi-circular-headed panels, having moulded arches springing from small shafts, with caps and bases, all originally enriched with carving, now much defaced. The arched heads have each a human mask, the whole enclosed between two carved stringcourses. The upper space is divided into triangular panels by diagonal lines of flat mouldings. These panels are alternately filled with human heads and foliage in very bold relief.

"An alteration has been made in this doorway by the insertion of an additional member to both jambs and arch, consisting of a square reveal and external chamfer. The chamfer is broad, and shows two ecclesiastics carved in low relief, standing upon brackets, holding pastoral staves. They are not mitred, but wear round flat caps. Their costumes, accurately delineated, differ. These figures are 21 in. in height. A running stalk, with a Tudor leaf, occupies the rest of the jambs and arch, finishing at the crown with an angel having outstretched wings, evidently fifteenth-century work. This alteration narrows the door to 3 ft. 3 in. wide. It is executed in limestone, while the rest of the doorway is a fine, hard, reddish-grey grit-stone. The inside pier of the original work still remains, and is carved all over."

The east window is interesting; it consists of two lights, high and narrow, round-headed, and with vertical jambs; the mouldings are curious, and two of the capitals of the pillars from which the arches spring are scollop, while the central one is stiff foliage. [As Lord Dunraven left his notes on this church unfinished, the Editor will be pardoned giving the following extracts from the work of Mr. Brash's quoted above.]

"This interesting feature is a couplet of semicircular-headed opes, measuring 8 ft. high from sill to soffit, and but $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide externally, while internally, owing to the great splay of the jambs, they are 7 ft. 6 in. wide. It is built of a dark close-grained limestone of great hardness and durability, in courses of from 7 in. to 16 in. in height, most of the stones being the entire breadth of jamb, which is 5 ft. on the splay. The angles are moulded internally and externally; the splays have each two semicircular-headed panels; the inside sills finish with a string, upon which rests the moulded bases of slender shafts, having carved caps, from which spring the arch members. The design of this window is exceedingly chaste and beautiful, the mouldings simple and effective, and the workmanship superior to anything I have seen either of ancient or modern times. The mouldings are finely wrought, and the jointing of the stone-work so close that I cannot believe they were ever worked by tools. There is no appearance of mortar joints, the ashlar must have been rubbed on their joints to make such close work. In the south wall of chancel are two windows (square-headed) with labels; they are of perpendicular character, are of different dimensions, and set at different levels. There is also a square recess or aumbry in south wall, close to east end, 18 in. by 16 in., and 12 in. deep; there is no piscina."

HISTORICAL NOTES ON CLONFERT.—Clonfert is situated in the parish of Clonfert, barony of Longford, county of Galway, near the River Shannon.

The name is derived from Cluain Ferta, the meadow of the grave, and is called in the Annals Cluain-fearta-Breanainn. (See *Irish Names of Places*, Joyce, p. 142.) The monastery here was founded by St. Brendan, the navigator, who was born near Tralee, in Kerry, in the year 484. His day was the 16th of May; and in the Martyrology of Donegal a beautiful legend of his life at Cluain Ferta is given. A great church and monastery were erected here, which were destroyed in 1541 by Felim O'Melaghlin, as is recorded at that date by the Four Masters. The same authorities tell of its having been six times burnt, and three times plundered. Situated, as it was, on the bank of the River Shannon, it fell an easy prey to the Norsemen who infested its waters. When, in the year 838, Turgesius, the Norwegian, appeared with his fleet upon Loch Ree, he plundered Clonfert and Clonmacnois, along with all the churches

thence to Loch Derg. It was also plundered by the men of Munster in 949, as well as by the tribes of Connaught, the Ua Ruaircs in 1031, and Conmaicni and Ui Maine in 1065. The deaths of many ecclesiastics belonging to this place, from the seventh to the sixteenth century, are recorded by the Four Masters.

The church of Clonfert was burnt in the year 1164,¹ and is said to have been rebuilt in the year 1167 by Conor O'Kelly, Prince of Hy Many. The west doorway and east window may therefore be assigned to this date. Dr. Lynch, writing in the year 1662, states, regarding this chieftain, that² "he not only built twelve temples, at his own cost, in Maenmaigh, but provided them with missals and other books and ornaments, and as much land, tribute free, as would support the clergy, who were to minister in them. He built the great church of St. Brenainn, in Cluainfearta, and St. Kieran's Church at Cluainmicnois, and presented to both churches, for the good of his soul, extensive lands, and a large assortment of ecclesiastical books, chalices, silk palls for the sacerdotal functions, and many other gifts of various kinds." It is unfortunate that Dr. Lynch does not give his authority for his statement regarding the building of this church, but it is supported not only by the architectural agreement of the church with others built in the years 1158³ and 1168,⁴ but also by the observation that is found in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the date 1167, and in some of the pedigrees,⁵ that this prince was the builder of twelve churches in Moenmoy, (*i.e.*, part of the county of Galway, around the town of Lough Rea), but also that he built the church of the O'Kellys at Clonmacnois, which is probably another name for that called St. Kieran's by Dr. Lynch, and which the Four Masters mention as having also suffered from fire in the year 1164. It appears then that this fine example of Irish Romanesque was built just two years before the landing of Fitz Stephen and the English troops near Wexford, and during the bishopric of Petrus Ua Mordha, who lost his life in 1171.

The abbey of Clonfert was a place of much importance just about this period, and the entries in the Annals regarding it at the time when we believe this beautiful building was in process of erection are as follows: A.D. 1166, Gillamacaiblen Ua hAnmchadha, successor of Brenainn of Cluainfearta died. A.D. 1170, Cormac Ua Lumluini, lector of Cluain-fearta Brenainn, the remnant of the sages of Ireland in his time, died. A.D. 1171, Petrus Ua Mordha, bishop of Cluain-fearta Brenainn, who had

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 1153.

² Cambrensis Eversus, chap. xxx. vol. iii. p. 321, (Celtic Soc.). ³ Aghadoe.

⁴ Queen Dervorgilla's church at Clonmacnois.

⁵ Tribes and Customs of Hy Many, p. 102.

been first a pious monk, was drowned in the Linainn on the 27th of December. A.D. 1173, Maelisu Mac an Baird, bishop of Clonfert Brendan, died.

When Roderic O'Connor carried on his negotiations with Henry II. in the year 1175, the abbot of Clonfert was one of the ambassadors sent by him to Windsor.¹

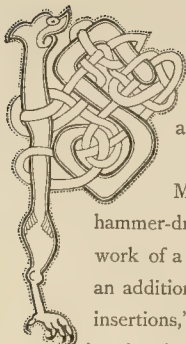
The existing remains in this parish are:—The Cathedral, of which the west door is the only ancient part. It is, perhaps, the most perfect specimen existing of Irish Romanesque. Within this building there is an octagonal font; it measures 2 ft. 7 in. in diameter, and 1 ft. 3 in. in height; three of the sides are plain, the other five are ornamented. There is also a stone inscribed OR DARA, with a plain Irish cross upon it, two feet in height above the ground. It stands in the east part of the churchyard, and about nine yards to the south of the south side wall of the cathedral. On the site of the ancient monastery a fragment of wall still remains, twelve feet high, and seven broad. The site of the nunnery may still be seen, and here a very curious tombstone is shown. It is somewhat in the shape of a coffin, ornamented with a cross, and exhibiting an inscription, which is described by O'Donovan as certainly ancient, but so effaced as to be undecipherable. Dr. Petrie afterwards remarks, in a letter to O'Donovan:—"The inscription at the nunnery excited me much, and I spent two hours in a fruitless attempt to copy it; but the day was unfavourable, as there was no sunshine." This stone is now in the dyke of a fence round a field at Clonfert called the "Nun's Acre." According to tradition this field has been held by the same family ever since Cromwell destroyed the nunnery.

¹ O'Halloran, *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 378.

DISERT TOLA.

DISERT O'DEA, COUNTY OF CLARE.

(PLATE CXVIII.)



SITUATED in the parish of Dysert, in the barony of Inchiquin, county of Clare, six miles north of Ennis, on the road to Corofin. Its ancient name is Disert Tola.

Mr. Brash says of this church: "The masonry is of irregular character. Most of the north wall of the nave is built of large blocks of stone, hammer-dressed and closely fitted, but not in regular courses; the rest is of rubble work of a good description. About 15 ft. of the west end of the church is evidently an addition, as is also the chancel, in which the east window and arch are again later insertions," [the nave is 50 ft. 9 in. by 24 ft., chancel 25 ft. by 20 ft. 9 in. There is a break of 2 ft. in the south wall of nave where it is 26 ft. wide] the wall is 3 ft. 1 in. thick.

The doorway is of four orders. It is 13 ft. 10 in. from west gable, and is 6 ft. 10 in. high and 3 ft. 2 in. wide. The outer order is enriched by a row of human heads; among which are three animal heads which hold portions of a roll moulding in their mouths, like that on Clonfert doorway; this roll is not continuous in the other heads. There are curious interlaced patterns on the jambs, as well as incised chevrons. From the difference in the heads, and the appearance of two styles of head in the same row, I am inclined to think this door may have been inserted, and even perhaps taken from an older church and made up of two doors; this idea is corroborated by the fact that the door of the tower does not as usual command that of the church.

Its dimensions are 3 ft. 1 in. clear of inside jambs, and 6 ft. 6 in. wide from the extreme sides, and 5 ft. 2 in. high to the springing of the arch. There are one octagon and one round pillar on each jamb, the surfaces of which were richly carved with a variety of ornaments now much defaced; the capitals are also much damaged; the abaci consist of a bold square and chamfer. The bells of the capitals are ornamented with grotesque animals' heads, interlaced tracery and other patterns; the bases of the shafts have parabolic mouldings of an unusual form, and are enriched with animal sculptures.

The east window is early English, and the chancel-arch pointed; it is not in the centre of the nave although it is in the centre of the chancel—an irregularity observable in Cormac's Chapel at Cashel. In the east wall near the window is a rude double aumbrey;

a round-headed window may be seen in the south wall with a wide internal splay, it measures 6 in. wide outside and 4 ft. 6 in. inside. A deeply-chamfered string-course runs round both nave and chancel at the level of the roof, forming a sort of internal string-course—this feature is to be seen also at Kilnaboy. The chancel, which is not bonded into the nave, is said by tradition to have been added by the chieftain O'Dea.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON DISERT TOLA.—Disert Tola is named from Tola, who founded the church here in the eighth century, and who was venerated on the 30th of March, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal:

"Tola, Bishop of Disert Tola, in the upper part of Dál Cais, in Thomond. He was of the race of Corbmac, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum."

Down to a late period the patron's day, the 30th of March, was always kept at this church, and stations were performed at the holy well of St. Tola in its neighbourhood. Lanigan states that—

"A. D. 1589. Dermot oge, the son of Dermot, son of Denis, son of Dermot, son of Conor, Bishop of Limerick, son of Murrough-an-Dana O'Dea, died, and was buried in his own town of Disert-Tola, in the cantred of Kinel-Fearmaic, in the upper part of Dal-Cais.

"A. D. 1599. O'Donnell proceeded with the flower of the army through the middle of Coill O'Flanchada to Bealach-an Fhiodhfail, and before noon arrived at Cill-inghine-Bhaoith, in the upper part of Dal gCais. Those who had gone to the south returned to the north by Drumfinglais and Corofin, and joined O'Donnell at Cill-inghine-Bhaoith. Thither the spoils of the whole country of Kenel Fearmaic, extending from Disert to Glencolumbkille and Tullycummon (north), and from Cluain-sailchearnaigh (in the east) to Leim-an-eich (in the west) were brought to O'Donnell."

The place afterwards took the name of Disert O'Dea from the chief of the Kenel Fearmaic (O'Dea), who built a castle and fixed his residence here.

As there was another church of the same name in the parish of Killulagh, barony of Delvin, county of West Meath,¹ Dr. O'Donovan has been at some pains to identify this with the Disert Tola Dalcais mentioned in the passage quoted above.

We learn that the saint from whom these places were named led for many years the life of a hermit in the church in West Meath, called from him, Disert Tola. He was also bishop of Clonard;¹ and his death is thus recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 733: "St. Tola, son of Dunchadh, bishop of Clonard, a worthy soldier of Christ, died." The same event is given in the Annals of Ulster at the date 737, where he is styled Bishop of Clonard.

¹ The name is partially preserved in the Townland Dysart, but all traces of church and churchyard have disappeared. See Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii., p. 171.



VIEW AT JERICHO

CO. GEORGE

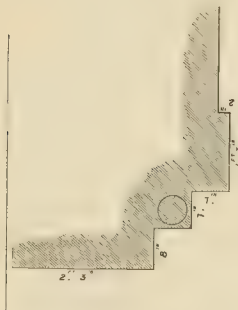
CLUAIN CAOIN.

CLONKEEN CHURCH, COUNTY OF LIMERICK.

PLATE CXIX.



CLONKEEN is situated in the townland of Clonkeen Barrington, in the parish of the same name, and barony of Clanwilliam, in the county of Limerick. The ruin stands on a slight elevation in a picturesque churchyard, filled with ancient yew-trees, and still used for interments. The building consists of one simple oblong chamber measuring 46 ft. in length, by 17 ft. 10 in. wide; the walls, which are perfect, are 3 ft. thick except the west gable, which is 3 ft. 10 in. The masonry is of sandstone in rough courses, the blocks unworked and of ordinary size. The north wall rests upon a plinth. There are pilasters at the corners of the east and west ends, 2 ft. deep and 2 ft. 9 in. wide at the west end, and 10 in. deep and 2 ft. 7 in. wide at the east.



The west doorway is 8 ft. high, 3 ft. 2 in. wide at the base, and 3 ft. wide at the springing of the arch. It is formed of finely chiselled sandstone. The jamb consists of two rectangular piers, between which is a richly ornamented rounded shaft crowned by a capital exactly resembling those in the chancel arch of St. Caimin's Church at Iniscaltra. The surface of the shaft is diapered with a zigzag moulding enriched with pellets. Two of the arch members are carved in chevrons; the label moulding forms a panel enriched with an ornament similar to that on the angle shafts, terminating in animal heads, and having a human head on the keystone.

The east window consists of two lights, high, narrow, and pointed, each mullion being 6 in. broad. It is formed of limestone, and measures 10 ft. high by 3 ft. 7 in. wide, and internally it splays to a width of 7 ft. There is another window near the east end; the external aperture is of limestone, while the sides, which splay, are of sandstone. It is small and pointed. In the south wall are two windows; the first is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the east gable; it is quadrangular inside and formed of chiselled brown stone, and measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high by 2 ft. 10 in. wide inside, and 3 ft. 7 in. high by 6 in. wide outside. The second window in this

wall is 12 ft. from the west gable and formed internally of chiselled brown stone. In the north wall, just opposite this, the remains of another window may be seen, which was round-headed, and measured on the outside $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON CLONKEEN.—The patron of this church was Diommóg, venerated on the 26th of April in the Martyrology of Tamlacht as “Modimmoc Cluana-cain,” in that of Marian Gorman Dimmoc Cluana-cain, and in the Martyrology of Donegal, at page 111, we read, “Diommóg of Cluain caoin;” while in the table at page 403 we learn that it was Cluain-caoin *in the county of Limerick* of which he was patron. His name, signifying “My little Diomma,” was possibly given to distinguish him from Diomma, son of Cas, patron of a church in the barony of Kenry, anciently Caenraighe, of the county of Limerick and diocese of Emly, where there is a place still called Kildimo, or the church of Diomma. His memory is venerated in the Martyrology of Donegal on the 12th of May. Cluain Cáin Modiomóg, or the “beautiful meadow of Modiomóg,” is twice referred to in the Annals of the Four Masters: first, as the final point reached in a plundering expedition undertaken by Roderic O’Conor, King of Connaught, and Donnell O’Melaghlin, King of Ireland, along the shore of the river Shannon; and, secondly, it is noticed as the scene of an engagement between the men of Clare and the Munster men. These entries are as follows:—

A.D. 1089. “Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair and Domhnall Ua Maeleachlainn went in ships and boats, and plundered Munster as far as Cluain-caein-Modimog, so that they scarcely left a single head of cattle so far [as they penetrated], and besides carried off captives.”

A.D. 1135. “Many of the men of Desmond fell by those of Thomond, at the causeway of Cluain-caein-Modimog.”

In a note, under the year 1089, of the Annals of the Four Masters (vol. ii. p. 936), Dr. O’Donovan has sought to identify the place here mentioned with a Clonkeen, referred to in the passage from the Lebar Brecc, on the Calendar of Aengus, at the 21st of January, as situated in the Eoghanacht Chaisil, which was a territory in the county of Tipperary, near the town of Cashel. It seems unlikely that he was correct in this instance, because the gloss on the parallel passage in the Oxford copy of the Felire gives, at January 21, *Cluain-cae*, which the Martyrology of Donegal writes *Cluain-caoi* (not *Cluain-cain*) as the church alluded to; and further, the place mentioned by the Annalists must have been situated near the banks of the river Shannon and in the vicinity of the county of Clare, and been dedicated to St. Diommóg. The following letter on this subject settles the question as to the identification of this place:—



"I am sure Dr. O'Donovan was wrong in placing Cluain-Cain-Modimog in Eoghanacht Cashel, now represented by the parish of Donohill, near Cashel. The entries in the Annals of the Four Masters at 1089 and 1135 clearly indicate a place not far from the Shannon. The entry of 1089 plainly implies that Cluain-Cain-Modimog was capable of being plundered by a *river expedition* launched on the Shannon. Now, there is no way of getting from the Shannon to Eoghanacht Cashel by water; but an expeditionary force might easily go in boats from the river Shannon, up the Mulkern river, near Castleconnell, to Clonkeen, in the barony of Clanwilliam, co. Limerick; which I believe to be Cluain-Cain-Modimog, and the place meant by the writer in the Martyrology Donegal, p. 403.

"O'Donovan added 'Modimog,' of his own mere suggestion, to the *Cluain-Caoim* in Eoghanacht Cashel; for it is never called anything but Cluain Caoim, as far as I know.

"The entry in the Annals at 1135, referring to a fight between Desmonians and Thomonians, supports your view; for what would bring the people of Desmond and Thomond into Ormond, to settle their quarrels there, unless there was a duelling law in force—which there was not.

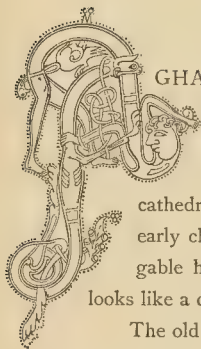
"Yours very truly,

"W. M. HENNESSY."

ACHADH-DÁ-EÓ.

AGHADOE CATHEDRAL, KILLARNEY.

PLATE CXX.



AGHADOE is situated in the parish of the same name, barony of Magunihy, and county of Kerry. The belfry of this church has been already described at page 35 of this work.

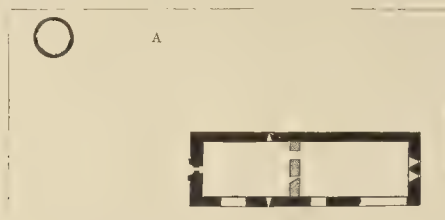
This building, though curious, is the least interesting of the old cathedral churches which I have met with. Nothing remains of the original early church but a portion of the west gable and the north wall of the nave. A gable has been built to the east end of this wall, and a new church added which looks like a chancel to the old one, but is without a regular chancel arch.

The old part of the nave is built of angular stones in large blocks, with oblique joints and not regularly squared, or in courses, and a good many small flag-stones are used. The mortar seems to be grouting. In the north wall there is a course of these large stones, and beneath that a course of flat flag spalds. This occurs twice, but is irregular and not continued many feet. I remember something similar in Gundulph's Tower at Malling, but there it was more regular.

The nave measures 36 ft. 2 in. by 23 ft. 6 in., and the chancel is 44 ft. 9 in. by 23 ft. 7 in.; the wall of the nave is 3 ft. thick and the height of the side wall 10 ft. Half

the south wall of the nave has fallen and nearly all that of the chancel on the same side. On the north side of the west wall, to the height of the impost of the door, the stones are dressed and partly squared, and of the same work as the Round Tower. The quoins are gone.

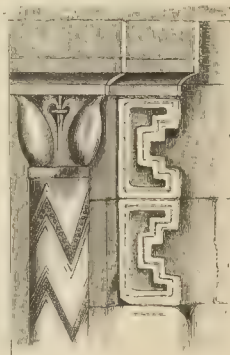
All the interest of this building is concentrated in the west door. It is of four orders. The external order is more or less destroyed; it is now composed of three different



PLAN OF CHURCH AND ROUND TOWER, AGHADOE.

SCALE, 50 FT. TO AN INCH.

ornaments, parts of three arches which have been stuck in when the door was repaired and patched up. I have rubbings of one, and I give a slight sketch of it on the next page. It is an uncommon variety of the incised chevron. The height of this doorway above the present level of the ground is 5 ft. 3 in.; the width at the top is 2 ft. 7 in., and 2 ft. 9 in. at the bottom. The bases of the jambs are square, plain, and slightly projecting. The shafts have the rope pattern with beads. Their capitals are like those on Iniscealtra (see page 56). There is a peculiar ornament running round one of the orders. I should say that the height of the jambs is 5 ft. 8 in., not 4 ft., and that one-third of their length is hidden, which spoils the proportions of the door as represented in the plate. It is built of sandstone, which is said to have been brought from a distance, there being none like it to be found for many miles around.¹



PORTION OF DOORWAY, AGHADOE.

Mr. Parker thinks the pellet moulding on this doorway bears a strong resemblance to the mouldings at Iffley near Oxford, and that the whole character of this doorway is very much like that in the nave

¹ There were repairs of the gable and doorway rather injudiciously executed some years ago; some of the stones are not in their proper places.



of Kirkstall Abbey, which is rather late Norman work, built between 1152 and 1182. He also remarks on the double embattled ornament found on the jamb of the third order, that it seems to be peculiarly Irish; it occurs also at St. Saviour's Church, Glendalough, and something similar to it is also seen in the Nun's Church at Clonmacnois.

The east window consists of a pair of lancet windows 9 ft. 6 in. in height, about 6 in.



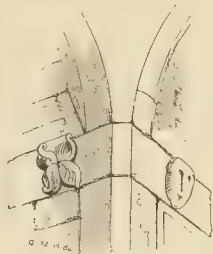
IMPOST,
AGHADOE.



MOULDING, AGHADOE.

wide outside, much splayed inside, and with upright jambs. These windows, according to Mr. Parker, are of the thirteenth century.

There are two windows near the east end of the nave, one in the north, the other in the south wall. They are small, round-headed windows, with inclined sides of plain cut sandstone without mouldings. I should think they were of earlier date than the door.



ORNAMENTS ON EAST WINDOW, CATHEDRAL, AGHADOE.

Mr. Parker thinks they are probably work of the eleventh or early part of the twelfth century; they are not more than 3 or 4 inches wide outside, well splayed inwards, all in cut sandstone.

The history of this place has been given already at page 36 of this volume, where the belfry of this church is described. It was said to have been founded by the St. Finan, the leper, whose memory is venerated on the 16th of March, and who was also the founder of the church on Inisfallen Island close by. (See ante, p. 55).

TEMPÚL CHRONAIN RUIS-CRÉ.

ST. CRONAN'S CHURCH, ROSCREA.

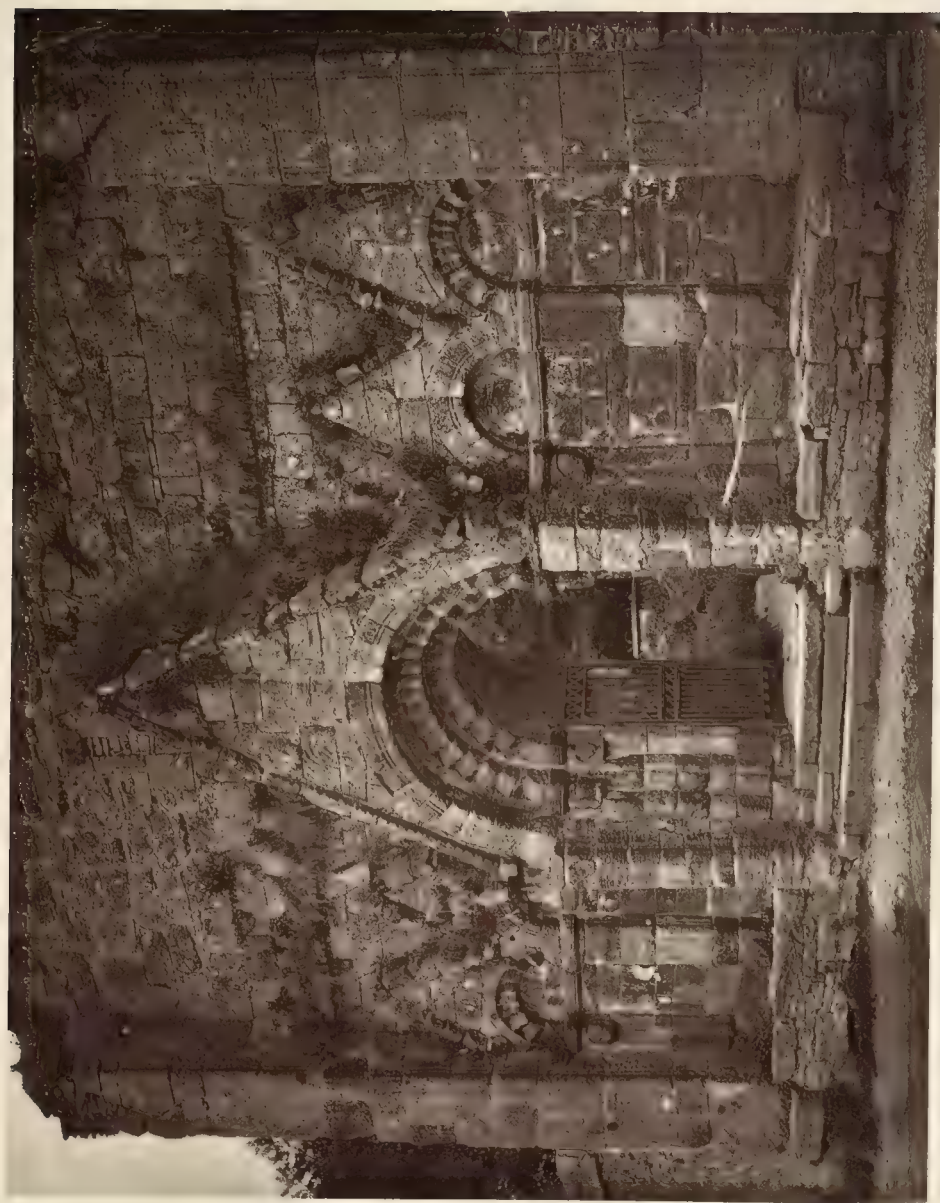
PLATE CXXI.



OSCREA is situated in the parish of the same name, in the barony of Ikerrin in the county of Tipperary. Nothing remains of the old church but the west front; the rest of the building was pulled down in the year 1812, as it was considered an unsightly object, and interfered with the approach to the modern church, to which this ancient west front serves as a gateway. The masonry of this fine fragment of Irish Romanesque architecture is of squared rubble carefully set. There are pilasters or antæ at each corner, which are 2 ft. 11 in. wide by 1 ft. 11 in. deep; the angles are finished with a torus moulding, and they are about 21 ft. in height. The gable measures 33 ft. wide on the outside, and 27 ft. 2 in. on the inside. The doorway is round-headed, with inclined sides, the porch projecting 2 ft. 8 in., and crowned by a lofty canopy or pediment, rising to a height of 18 ft., with a bold coping ornamented with pellets. In the centre of this pediment stands a figure in relief, said to represent the founder of the church; it is chiselled out of the masonry of the wall, and on each side there is a disc or medallion about 1 ft. in diameter.

A ground-plan to scale of the doorway is given in fig. 5, plate facing page 6. It is of three orders. The inner arch or actual aperture is 8 ft. 9 in. high by 5 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the base and 4 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the springing of the arch. The central arch is 9 ft. 7 in. high by 6 ft. 7 in. wide at the base, and 6 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the springing of the arch; the outer arch is 10 ft. 4 in. high by 8 ft. 5 in. wide at the base, and 8 ft. 4 in. at the springing of the arch. The arches spring from square piers and slightly rounded shafts, formed of chiselled gritstone, with capitals and bases—the abacus being a bold square and chamfer, and the capital in two instances is formed by a human head, while two others have a spiral design. The arches are enriched with bold chevron mouldings, while their soffits are ornamented with a delicately incised zigzag pattern. The pillars of the outer arch have been re-erected at a comparatively modern period. The stones of the south pillar are not ornamented, and do not seem to be the original ones. The interior of this doorway seems to have been remodelled at a comparatively modern period also.

At each side of the porch is an arcade formed of round arches, two of which have their



edges simply rounded off, and two are enriched with chevron mouldings, surmounted by pediments. The termination of the mouldings of the two pediments next the centre one is formed by animals' heads, rather resembling the dripstone terminations at Rahen. The two others have human heads. The pediments are described by Mr. Brash as "formed by a projecting square member, the under edge cut into notches;" and he adds: "Above these canopies is a horizontal string-course, consisting of a square member supported by corbel heads."

HISTORICAL NOTE ON ROSCREA.—Roscrea is situated in the barony of Ikerrin, in the county of Tipperary. The old name of this place was Ross Cré, or "the wooded point of Cré." Another name for it is said to have been Riasc Cré, or the moor, marsh, or fen of Cré. In the life of St. Cronan it is stated that he transferred his abode hither from the Cella Sean-ross, which he had founded, properly called Stagnum Cré.

St. Cronan, son of Odran, who died between the years 600 and 620, built a monastery here. (See Ussher's *Britt. Eccl. Antiqq.*, cap. 17, Works, vol. vi. p. 541; and Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 672.) He is thus commemorated in the Calendar of Oengus, at April 28:—

"Cristifer la Cronan,	"Christopher, with Cronan
Ruiss Chree co talci."	Of Roscrea, with strength."

An anonymous writer of the life of St. Canice affirms that the saint wrote in the *island* of Ross-cre a volume of the Four Evangelists, called by the ancients Glass-Kynnick. (Harris, *Irish Writers*, book i. p. 21.)

This foundation continued to be an important one down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Four Masters preserve the names of thirteen of its abbots, two airchinnechs, nine bishops, and one lector. Cormac O'Killen, the builder of a church at Clonmacnois and a round tower at Tomgraney, was abbot here in 964. The fame of this place as a learned school is three times referred to in the annals of the twelfth century; and it was probably about the last period alluded to, in 1154, that the building was erected, the west end of which forms the subject of Plate CXXI. About the end of the twelfth century, the ancient see of Roscrea was united to the church of Killaloe, as stated by Ware, who adds: "As to the original of the church of Roscrea; it is most certain, that St. Cronan, who was Bishop, or, as some say, Abbat, was the first founder of it [and flourished about the year 620]. The west end of this church, considering the poverty of the place, makes a beautiful figure enough." (Ware's *Bishops*, ed. W. Harris, vol. i. p. 590.)

INIS MEDHON.

INISMALN ABBEY, LOUGH MASK.

PLATE CXXII.



INISMALN ABBEY is situated in the parish of Ballinchalla, in the barony of Kilmaine and county of Mayo. It stands on a low piece of land on the borders of Lough Mask; this becomes partly flooded in winter, and thus the higher land is converted into an island, and termed Inis Medhon (Middle Island).

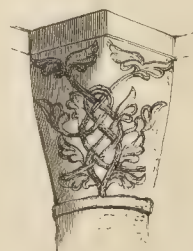
The masonry is of very large stones, naturally squared, and has almost what may be called a Cyclopean character. The west wall has fallen, and most of the south wall is also in ruins. There is a square-headed door of the ancient type in the north wall of the nave. It measures 5 ft. 5 in. in height, 2 ft. 6 in. wide at the base, and 2 ft. at the top. It is quite old Irish in character, and the masonry looks old. The lintel is 4 ft. 8 in. long, and 10 in. high, and the thickness of the wall is 2 ft. 8 in.

The east window is shown in the plate, and the shafts of the chancel arch at one side. The mouldings are undoubtedly Norman.

It is difficult to estimate the date of this church. The masonry is of a very early character, as is the primitive north doorway, with its horizontal lintel and inclined sides. The whole building however appears to be of one date, and that is fixed by the indubitably late twelfth century mouldings.



INISMALN, NORTH DOOR.

CAPITAL OF PILLAR, CHANCEL ARCH,
INISMALN.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON INISMALN.—Archdall says of this place: "There was an abbey on this island, as we are informed by the author of the Life of St. Cormac, (Act. SS.,



p. 752.) who lived in the year 490," (Monasticon Hib. p. 502.) "Maelisa, son of Turlough O'Connor, Prior of Inishmaine, died." (Ann. Four Masters.)

We have only two references to this island in the Annals of the Four Masters, the one given above and that given at A.D. 1227: "Hugh son of Roderic O'Connor and the son of William Burke, marched with a great army into the North of Connaught, and they burned Inishmaine, plundered the country into which they came, and took hostages."

O'Donovan, writing on this abbey, mentions the ruins of a small castle near a well, and adds, speaking of both buildings: "but neither is, in my opinion, older than the Anglo-Norman invasion."

CILL MIC DUACH.

CHURCH OF ST. COLMAN MAC DUACH, COUNTY OF GALWAY.

PLATE CXXIII.



HIS building, called the Monastery, is situated to the north-west of the cathedral of Kilmacduagh, in the parish of that name, barony of Burren, and county of Clare, three miles to the south-west of the town of Gort. It consists of nave and chancel, the former measuring 60 ft. 8 in. long by 22 ft. broad, and the latter 19 ft. 4 in. long by 18 ft. 9 in. wide; the walls are 3 ft. 3 in. thick. To the south of the church are the remains of buildings, which may have been a sacristy and a small room where the valuables of the church were deposited for safe keeping. The masonry of the chancel is beautifully fitted rubble of large stones; the nave, which seems of later date, is of rougher work and in irregular courses. There are good square quoins at the west end. It stands on a level plinth course 3 ft. above the ground, and the wall of the building is 16 ft. high above the plinth.

There is a pointed archway in the south wall of the nave. The east window—the interior of which is represented in Plate CXXIII.—has been thus described by Mr. Brash.¹ It consists of two lights; "these are semicircular-headed, and are but 8½ in. wide at sill, and 6 in. at springing, and are 8 ft. high to soffit of heads; they are richly moulded on the external reveals; they are set very widely apart on the outside, but, owing to the great splay of the jambs, the centre pier runs to an angle inside. The internal jambs are richly moulded, the mouldings running under the sills and round the arches; the principal member is a bold torus, which, on the jambs and centre pier, is treated as a pillar, and has a carved capital;

¹ Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, p. 107.

outside of all is an additional torus, which is treated in a similar manner, the shafts supporting a label moulding of similar section. The workmanship of this window, like that at Clonfert, which it much resembles, is of the finest character, clean and sharp, the ashlar facing of the jambs finely worked, and the joints wonderfully close, the stones in several places dovetailing. In the south wall is a tall, single light, 6 in. wide externally, splaying to 4 ft. wide internally; it rests upon a chamfered impost and hood moulding internally; though of plainer character than the east window, its masonry is equally well finished.

This building belongs to a group of ecclesiastical structures consisting of—1. The Cathedral or Tempul Mór; 2. The belfry, already described and illustrated in this work (see plate LXXIV); 3. Tempul Muire, or The Church of Mary; 4. A church called by two different names, Tempul Eoin Baiste, or the Church of John the Baptist, and Tempul na Naomh, the Church of the Saints; 5. Seanchloch, or Old Stone House; 6. Tempul Mac Duach; 7. Little Church of Mac Duach; and, 8. The Monastery, commonly called Hyne's Monastery, the east window of which forms the subject of the plate.¹

HISTORICAL NOTE ON KILMACDUACH.—This church was founded in the sixth century by St. Colman Mac Duach, who was of the noble family of the Hy Fiachrach. It is related of this saint that having from his early youth followed in the camp of Christ, he at length betook himself to a solitary place to consecrate his life to divine services. But the fame of his devotion spread abroad, and he was called forth and created a bishop. A second time he betook himself to the anchorite's life. He lived in a hermitage in the wood of Boireann in Thomond, accompanied by one disciple. They built their oratory of wood; they were clad with skins of stags; their food was watercresses and wild herbs, cold water was their drink. Here they remained for seven years.

Afterwards King Guaire Aidhne ordered a church to be built, and so the building of the cathedral church of Kill-mhic-Duach was commenced; to which, from that time, the burial of the chiefs of the territory of Aidhne and of the stock of Guaire was consecrated. This church grew to such a pitch of dignity and celebrity that it was considered the common and most safe asylum of the country—for it seemed to be protected by divine majesty and wonderfully defended when attacked. (See Colgan, Act SS., p. 244, cap. 7.)

No successor to St. Colman is mentioned for five centuries after, except one Innreachtach, who died in 814. Ware enumerates eighteen bishops of this see, ending with the name

¹ The remaining buildings in the list have been described by O'Donovan in a letter from Galway, preserved among the Ordnance Survey Letters, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 14, D 2, p. 160; and by Mr. Brash in his work on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland. See also Petrie, Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, pp. 174, 382, 402.

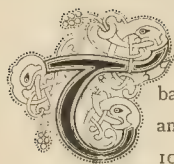


of Roland Lynch, who was consecrated in 1587, and in 1602 became bishop of Clonfert when the bishopric of Kilmacduach was united to that see. (See Ware's Bishops, Harris Ed., pp. 643, 648.)

CILL FINNABHRACH.

KILFENORA, COUNTY OF CLARE.

PLATE CXXIV.



THE Cathedral of Kilfenora is situated in the parish of that name, in the barony of Corcomroe and county of Clare. The nave has been fitted up, and is now in use; the chancel is roofless. The chancel 36 ft. long, 20 ft. 10 in. broad; the walls 3 ft. thick. The east window, which forms the subject of the plate, is very remarkable. It consists of three lights, having round-headed arches that spring from triangular-based shafts. It measures 20 ft. in height, by 14 ft. 7 in. in width, the central light being 1 ft. 4 in. wide, and those at the side 11 in. wide. The window is enclosed by a fine moulding, and the shafts are crowned by very curious capitals.

As Lord Dunraven was prevented finishing his notes upon this building, the following account, written by Dr. O'Donovan in the year 1839, may be added :—

"There are two double-headed pointed windows in the south side, divided by mullions, and one of them, the farthest from the gable, is divided into four parts by a stone running across it in the middle. In the north-east corner of the church there is a niche in the side wall, formed of two pointed small arches sustained in the middle by a slender column of stone. In front of this niche is a tombstone level with the ground, having the figure of an ecclesiastic, with arms folded across his breast and hands clasping a book. There is another niche in the north wall, nearly opposite, in the same style, surmounted by a head and a mitre, in front of which is a tombstone level with the ground, having a figure carved on it. There is a stone cross near the western side of the burying ground, 4 ft. 9 in. high, 2 ft. 4 in. across the shoulders, the shaft 1 ft. 5 in. broad, and 6½ in. thick. Another is standing in a field a little to the west of the church, sculptured on all sides, and having a rude representation of the Crucifixion on the east side. This cross is about 15 ft. high, 3 ft. wide at the bottom, 2 ft. 6 in. wide at height of 6 ft. from the ground, and 10 in. thick, but tapering towards the top. There were three other fine

crosses here, one at each of the other cardinal points from the church; but two of them fell, and were broken, and the third is said to have been carried to Killaloe some years ago by a bishop of that see.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON KILFENORA.—The name is partly of ecclesiastical and partly of topographical origin—the first part, Cill, meaning church, and the second, Fionnabhrach, signifying a fertile place. The well near the church was dedicated to St. Fachtna, whose memory was venerated there on the 14th of August. The founder of this church, then, appears to have been the saint thus commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal:

"August 14. Fachtna, Bishop and Abbot, of Dairinis Maelanfaidh, in Ui Ceinnsealaigh. Forty-six years was his age, and he was of the race of Lughaidh, son of Ith, according to the Seanchus."

The place here mentioned is the island of Molana, in the river Blackwater, in the county of Waterford.

This saint is also called Fachtna of Ross, and notwithstanding the identity of his festival with that of the founder of Kilfenora, there appears to be much uncertainty as to the identity of the founders of these churches.¹ Ware adds: "As this see is the least in all Ireland, so it was always reckoned among the poorest; having only thirteen parishes subject to it. I have found so few memoirs of the bishops of it, that I am under the necessity of owning, that the following catalogue of them is very lame and imperfect." He enumerates fourteen bishops, the first of whom died in the year 1254, and the last was Samuel Pullen, Doctor of Divinity of the University of Dublin, who succeeded in 1660, and in whose lifetime the see of Kilfenora was annexed to that of Tuam.

¹ See Ware's Bishops, Harris ed. p. 622; Lanigan, Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 194.





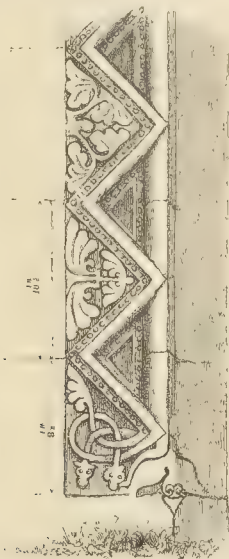
ENACHDÚIN.

ANNADOWN, COUNTY OF GALWAY.

PLATE CXXV.



ANNADOWN Abbey is situated in the parish of the same name, and barony of Clare, about twelve miles from the town of Galway. The abbey, along with the ruins of a monastery and nunnery, and other ecclesiastical buildings, stands on the north side of a rocky inlet, into which a small stream pours its waters.¹ The abbey is attached to the north side of the monastery. Only the west gable and north wall are now standing, with the west end of the south wall, where it is supported by a well-built buttress of dressed stone, evidently of



MOULDINGS OF WINDOW, ANNADOWN.

a later date than the rest of the building. The building is a curious example of a fortified monastery of early date. The chancel measures 18 ft. in length by 15 ft. wide, the whole

¹ See Lough Corrib, Sir William Wilde, p. 65.

length in the clear is 108 ft. 9 in., thus allowing 91 ft. 8 in. for the nave, which is 21 ft. 2 in. wide.

The doorway in the north wall has a deeply moulded pointed arch. Nothing save the piers of the chancel arch remains. It was 12 ft. 6 in. wide, and of well-cut limestone.

The east window (Plate CXXV.) has been removed, and built into the eastern wall of the Protestant church. Its general character is similar to that of Barfreton. It consists of a deeply splayed circular-headed light, 8 ft. high in the clear of the opening, and 12 ft. high internally. On each side of the roll moulding, where the deep splay of the window joins the church wall, there is a line of decorated chevrons, in the angles formed by which, on both sides, are sixty-six floral ornaments, still quite sharp, and each different from the rest. There is a fillet or keel on the roll moulding, which is a mark of rather later date. Examples of these mouldings may be seen in the annexed woodcut.

There is another window in the south wall of the chancel, which is decorated with a round and an elegant drip moulding with a bold termination. The north window has inclined jambs, the inner arch being 2 ft. 5 in. at the base, and 2 ft. 3 in. at the springing of the arch.



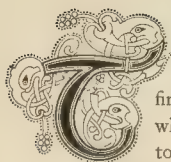




CONCLUDING ESSAY.

CHAPTER I.

PAGAN FORTS AND EARLY CHRISTIAN MONASTERIES.



THE great stone forts of Ireland, examples of which are given in the first section of this work, are held by tradition to belong to that time which forms the culminating point of Irish heroic story, and which is said to reach down to the first century of the Christian era. Legend has connected these early buildings with the groups of heroes who surrounded the thrones of Ailill and Maeve in Connaught, and with the Knights of the Red Branch, who formed the guard of Conor Mac Nessa, King of Ulster, when he reigned in his palace at Emania. If in the opening of an essay which, of necessity, deals with many material remains of an unknown and certainly pre-historic age, the writer be thought to linger too long in the labyrinths of Irish legend, it is by no means with the intention that these tales should in any sense be taken as history. Their authors, who, while recording others' names have left their own unsung, will doubtless appear as unreal as the heroes whose deeds they have perpetuated in their song; but since so it is, that for untold centuries these primitive strongholds have been associated with the ancient heroes of the Irish people, we have no more right to discard such tales as in all senses worthless, and to destroy all memory of such connection, than we have to accept them in any way as history. Who can dwell in the forest of Arden and not feel that its scenes are hallowed by a solemn interest, and have gained another elevating power, because associated by our greatest bard with those fair and noble forms whose memories still seem to haunt its "desert inaccessible," and linger 'neath its "shade of melancholy boughs"?

LEGEND OF THE MIGRATION OF THE SONS OF U MOR.¹—When Cairbre Niafer reigned in Leinster, at or about the time of the birth of Christ,² and Conor Mac Nessa, his father-in-law, still reigned in Ulster, there lingered on the western shores and islands of Scotland a branch of the same Belgic race who, centuries before, had migrated to Ireland through Britain. Pressed by the superior forces of the Picts, a number of them are said to have again sought

¹ The Irish before the Conquest, Mrs. Ferguson, pp. 129, 131. The Editor has also to acknowledge Mrs. Ferguson's kindness in giving her the use of her MS. lectures on Irish bardic poetry, read before the Ladies' Literary Society of Alexandra College, Dublin.

² O'Curry, Lectures on the MS. materials of ancient Irish history, p. 483, n. 34.

refuge in Erin, where they made application to Carbri Niafer, King of Leinster, and from him received a tributary territory. But as it came to pass that they could not support the heavy tribute laid upon them for this subject soil, they moved westwards and sought the protection of Maeve, who with her husband, Ailill, then ruled in Connaught. This was the migration of the sons of Hua More, for Aengus, son of Hua More, was their king in the east. They obtained a grant of lands and protection from Maeve, who thus appeared at the head of her armies:—"A woman, comely, white-faced, long cheeked and large; gold yellow hair on her; a short crimson cloak on her; a gold pin in the cloak over her breast; a straight carved-backed spear flaming in her hand." Welcomed by this Amazonian queen, the followers of Aengus Hua More fortified themselves along the western coast in Mayo, Galway, and Clare, and in the islands of Aran, at the mouth of Galway Bay.¹

But the doomed race were not long to remain in safety. When they first settled in the east of Ireland, they had made a covenant with the Irish king, Carbri Niafer, and four of his noblest heroes, Knights of the Red Branch, had stood surety for them; Cuchullin, Conall Carnech, Ross, and Keth. Seeing how the tribe of Aengus had broken faith with him, the king called upon his knights who had thus pledged themselves either to compel their return or to challenge them in battle. The fugitives accepted the challenge, and on their side chose four of their mightiest champions to meet the Knights of the Red Branch. They were named Conall the Mild, who was son to their chieftain Aengus, Kemi Kethir Kenn, King, and Irgas of Many Battles. But the champions of King Carbri were victorious. The followers of Aengus Hua More were driven backwards to the cliffs and rocky islands of the Atlantic, to seek shelter in those stupendous stone fortresses and ramparts which they had thrown up for the protection of their tribes and of their cattle. Dún Aengusa and Dún Conor and the fort of Muirbhech Mil still preserve the names and memory of the chieftains of this early race.

LEGEND OF CUROI, SON OF DARÉ.—When Conor Mac Nessa reigned in Ulster at his palace of Emania, there dwelt a beautiful maiden, named Blanaid, in the sea-girt isle of Mana, off the coast of Scotland. Her palace was richly stored with gold and silver, and with priceless gems. The Knights of the Red Branch, headed by the hero Cuchullin, gathered their forces to ravage this island, and Curoi, son of Daré, having heard that the heroes were about to start on this expedition, disguised himself as a grey-coated clown and came to the assistance of the knights, and said he would himself take possession of the fort if he were given choice of the jewels it contained. The fort was plundered and Blanaid borne away. When the knights came to divide the spoil, the clown in the grey garb said, "Blanaid is the treasure I must claim." "Take thy choice of all the other jewels except Blanaid," said Cuchullin; but the clown gave answer, "I

¹ Dún Aengus still bears the name of their chieftain, while among their other leaders was Cutra, who has left his name at Lough Cooter near Gort; Adhar at Moy-Adhair, or the Plain of Adhar in Clare; Measca at Loch Mask in Mayo, &c.

will take no exchange for her." Then Curoi surprised the maiden unperceived, and bore her away under an enchanted mask.

But Cuchullin loved the maiden and followed on their track to Munster. Worst of his encounter with Curoi he renewed his search in the following year, and guided by a great flock of dark birds coming over the sea from the north, he came to Munster, and found her alone on the banks of the Finnglas or white brook, in Kerry. There she told the hero that she loved him before all other men, and implored him to come at the season of All Hallows with an armed force to carry her away. And a signal was agreed upon between them. Encamped with his forces in the neighbouring forest he was to watch the waters of the stream, and when he beheld them turning white he was to attack Curoi's abode.

Then Blanaid persuaded Curoi to build for himself a fortress upon the summit of the mountain, which should surpass all the kingly forts of Erin, and to disperse his knights and warriors to seek through Ireland for the greatest stones wherewith to build it. The guard being thus removed and Curoi alone and defenceless, Blanaid brought pails of milk and emptied them into the stream. Cuchullin seeing the waters whitened rushed upon Curoi and slew him. Cuchullin returned to Ulster with Blanaid, but the death of Curoi was soon avenged. His bard Ferkertni pursued them to the north and found her on the promontory of Kenn Barra with Conor Mac Nessa and Cuchullin and a great company around them. But the bard, seeing Blanaid approach the edge of the cliff, came up behind, and twining his arms around her sprang with her locked in his fatal embrace into the wild sea beneath.

All evidence now tends to prove that the dawn of letters in Ireland began between the third and fourth century of the Christian era; and Oghamic writing, the origin of which is still hidden in darkness, seems to have preceded the introduction of Roman letters, while the language of such inscriptions is known to be a very early form of Irish. On the covering stone of an ancient cromlech which still stands on the side of a mountain in Kerry, crowned by the fort of Curoi alluded to in the above legend, an Ogham inscription has been discovered, with its correlative in the debased Latin character of the early Christian period. The Ogham inscription, which has been translated CONNAIT, SON OF CUROI, conveys the name of the hero who lies buried below. While the Latin, FECIT CONURI, tells that the grave was erected by his father Curoi.¹

A similar monument has been discovered connected with the memory of Queen Maeve. At Rathcroghan in Roscommon, where her palace is said to have stood, there is an old pagan cemetery, and a remarkable cave, which is called traditionally Queen Maeve's Treasury. The materials for the artificial portion, or ante-grotto, of this cave, appear to have been taken from the adjoining burial-ground, two of the roofing-stones bearing Ogham inscriptions, which must have been sculptured before the stones were built into their places. On one of these, we learn from Mr. Ferguson, the name Maev, in an

¹ See Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for 1871-72, p. 52, a letter on this subject by the Rev. Ch. Graves, D. D., Bishop of Limerick, also Christian Inscriptions of Ireland, G. Petrie, vol. ii. p. 3.

ancient spelling (Medf), certainly exists.¹ In such cases as this we seem to find a link connecting the fort and the cromlech and the Ogham inscription with the culminating period of heroic legend in Ireland, and all three with the dawn of letters and of art. The works in gold and bronze which have been from time to time discovered in such monuments, all witness to like conditions as are indicated in these bardic legends. A certain splendour in dress and armour giving evidence of skill in various arts and characterized by the sense of beauty exhibited in the delicacy and grace of the ornamental design with which these objects are covered.

It may be claimed for these legends that some amount of actual knowledge is incidentally conveyed in them bearing on early conditions of society. Mr. Ferguson, referring to the Knights of the Red Branch, who surrounded the throne of Conor, has shown that we find in them an order of knighthood forming part of the old social economy of the kings of Ulster—an association much of the same nature as the warrior fraternities which existed among the Celtic and Germanic tribes in other countries; and in the tales of these knights and their adventures, such as the single combat between Cuchullin and his loved friend Ferdiah, we find ample signs of a quite mediæval spirit of chivalry; while the pictures of the gallant boy hero Setanta² recall the stories of the youthful Cid. As regards, too, the pagan remains of Ireland, they are endowed with a gradually increasing and a deeper interest as link after link comes to light, serving to connect them not only with such legends, but “with a period of critical transition and the dawning of the religion of peace upon a race, barbaric it may be, but far indeed from savage.”³ In the bardic legends of the heroes who surrounded the thrones of Conor Mac Nessa and of Ailill and Maeve, the first chords are struck which announce the advent of Christianity. King Conor, amazed by the darkness which covered all the earth at the hour of the Crucifixion, inquires from the Druids for the cause; they reply that Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, was at that moment suffering at the hands of the Jews. “What crime has he committed?” said Conor. “None,” replied they. “Then they are slaying him, being innocent?” “It is so,” said the Druids. Thereupon Conor, bursting into uncontrollable fury, drew his sword, and rushing into the neighbouring forest began to hew and hack the trees, crying aloud: “Beautiful the combat that I would wage for Christ, who is being defiled! I would not rest though my body of clay had been tormented by them. It crushes my heart to hear the voice of wailing from my God, and that this arm does not come with true relief to arrest the sorrow of death.” Then was his frenzy so great that a ball, once flung from a sling and long embedded in his skull, burst forth, and he fell dead upon the spot.

It does not seem too much to hope that the study of such remains, whether legendary or monumental, may help us to solve those problems which are at the root of all history. “The first question,” says Dr. Arnold, “in the history of every people is, What was

¹ Congal, *ibid.* p. 212, note 54; also a paper by Mr. Ferguson on this Ogham in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. ix. p. 161.

² See Congal, a poem by S. Ferguson, page 224. Setanta was the original name of the hero Cuchullin.

³ Aubrey de Vere, *Legends of St. Patrick*. Pref. p. xi.

their race and language? the next, What was the earliest form of their society, their social and political organization?"¹ In seeking to arrive at a true estimate of the rise and progress of Christian architecture in Western Europe, it is in the first place essential that we should search out and discover the nature of the original soil on which it was planted, and what the estate of these races when the new faith penetrated to their shores—how far beyond the mere animal condition of a sunken and degraded savage was the noble barbarism of these early people, beholding,

"The race, in feud of clan with clan,
Barbaric—gracious else and high of heart,
Nor worshippers of self, nor dulled through sins."²

The early legends go on to show how the bards, always gifted with prophetic power, foretell the advent of Christianity to Ireland. It is revealed to Ossian in a vision that his soul must tarry in the flesh for 300 years, until the messenger of Christ shall come. The Druids Locree and Luchat prophecy the coming of a missionary across the sea with new rites and doctrine, who will overthrow their ancient gods, and King Cormac, dying three hundred years before the coming of Patrick, refuses heathen burial.

"Spread not the beds of Brugh for me
When restless death-bed's use is done,
But bury me at Rossnaree,
And face me to the rising sun.

For all the kings who lie in Brugh
Put trust in gods of wood and stone;
And 'twas at Ross that first I knew
One, Unseen, who is God alone.

His glory lightens from the east,
His message soon shall reach our shore,
And idol god and cursing priest
Shall plague us from Moy Slaught no more."³

The seven centuries that elapsed between the mission of St. Patrick and the English invasion under Strongbow form the epoch within which any historical account of the native art of Ireland must be confined. The ecclesiastical remains of this time are so numerous that their sequence can be traced from the primitive cell of the early founders of Christianity to the exquisite chapel of King Cormac on the Rock of Cashel, and the contemplation of the various signs of development in the rise and progress of this art may lead us to those points in its history at which cement was first used, or the lofty ecclesiastical towers of Ireland were erected, and when the knowledge of the true arch was introduced.

The cashels, or ecclesiastical forts as they may be termed, of Ireland are connected

¹ Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 20.

² Aubrey de Vere, *Legends of St. Patrick*, p. 9.

³ *Lays of the Western Gael*, S. Ferguson, p. 55.

by tradition with the introduction of Christianity, which the legends of Ireland thus place between 200 and 300 years after the culminating point of the heroic period. However, the first Christian monuments, by their exact similarity to the Pagan, tend to prove either that this heroic period has been antedated, or that the interval between the first and fourth century of the Christian era was one of comparative stagnation; or, thirdly—and, indeed, this may prove the truest hypothesis of all—it may teach us by what slow and gradual evolution change was wrought in the first stages of human progress.

Many traditions exist which imply that St. Patrick was not the first missionary who visited Ireland. The earliest place of Christian worship here would seem to have been the subterranean cave, such as that the existence of which was revealed to the saint when his servant, Ailill, required of him sacred vessels for the service of his church; then, "the holy prelate, divinely instructed, pointed out to the presbyter, in a certain stone cave of wonderful workmanship, an altar under ground, having on its four corners four chalices of glass." This altar must have been the remains of the devotion of one of those ancient and isolated congregations of Christian worshippers, which the Apostle was to gather into regularly organized congregations.¹ Then we see that the body that really formed the nucleus of the Church of Ireland was contained in the little ship, said to have found its way from Gaul, which first touched the sands of Inver Dea, and then sailed northwards, past the swelling outlines of the purple hills of Wicklow, and beneath the wild cliffs of Howth, to the little island that still bears the Apostle's name. The church which was to prove to North-Western Europe (like Lerins in the South), the central school of the monastic system, is next seen within the Barn of Dichu.²

"There, garnered, lay
Much grain, and sun-imbrowned; and Patrick said,
'King Dichu, Give thou to the poor that grain,
To Christ, our Lord, thy barn,'"³

And, lastly, the four great stone fortresses, that of the old Belgic hero Muirbhech Mil in Aranmór, the Dún of Lugaidh, that of the chieftain Conall, and the palace of the kings of Ulster, were, on the conversion of the native chieftains, given over to Christian uses, and the saint with his little community of monks erected their cells and oratory within the shelter of their walls.

These ecclesiastics who founded the Irish church present themselves to our mind under three different aspects—as teachers, mariners, and anchorites: 1st, Heads of the great schools which were frequented by crowds of students from Britain and the Continent. 2nd, Toilers by sea and land,⁴ the labours of navigation or agriculture

¹ Todd, *St. Patrick*, pp. 222, 226.

² Saul in the county of Down. See Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pp. 40, 220.

³ Aubrey de Vere, *ibid.* p. 31.

⁴ Three kinds of boat appear to have been used by these sailor monks:—canoes, probably made by hollowing trees, such as have been found in bogs and the bottoms of lakes; currachs, made of skins

occupied a large portion of their lives; and, lastly, as Hermits they stand prominently forth among the most striking figures of the time.

"Raise thine eyes to yonder mountain head
That 'twixt us and the eastern sky uplifts its glittering cone;
There, where thou seest the cairn at top, dwelt in his cave of stone
Their hermit Domangart, ten years; the tempests from the sea
On one side dashed him, and on one the wet west blanched him."¹

We have already suggested that these desert hermitages were most often places of retreat for a certain period of time; thus, in this instance, Domangart's period of seclusion lasts ten years; the hermit at the summit of Slieve League in Donegal is said to have remained there for seven years; and Adamnan relates that when Libranus Arundineti confessed his great sin to Columba and sought from him a way of expiation, the latter answered him thus: "You must do penance for seven years in Tiree; you and I, with God's blessing, shall survive that period;" and he adds: "After the end of seven years, as I said, you will come to me during the Lent, and you will approach the altar and partake of the Eucharist on the great Easter festival."²

When contemplating the monastic cells upon these islands, the impression conveyed to many minds that they were once tenanted by some mournful hermit, some Irish Christian fakir, whose whole existence was passed in fanatic absorption of mind and physical inertness, seems to be entirely false. These buildings, rude, yet permanent as the rocks on which they stand, were inhabited by men whose character is sufficiently striking to give them an interest in our eyes. With all capacities of love and gentleness, they are but wild and rugged seamen—courageous, ardent, vindictive, and passionately devoted to adventure and travel—yet, when in exile, "with heart untravelled," their love of home is never seen to die. Columba and Brendan stand prominently forth, the first among these original and pathetic forms of men who gave their lives for an ideal cause. Much may be learnt of the capacity for resolute devotion which

stretched over a wicker framework; and small sailing vessels, thus described by Adamnan: "The sailors having raised the sail yards in the form of a cross, and having spread the sails upon them, we put to sea." Twelve such vessels, he states, were employed to convey oak trees by sea from the mainland, which were necessary for the repair of the monastery on Iona. See Reeves' Adamnan, lib. ii. cap. 45, p. 176.

¹ Congal, a poem by S. Ferguson, p. 7. Bishop Cedd, A.D. 659, complying with the desire of King Ethelwald that he should build a monastery within his territory, chose himself a place "among craggy and distant mountains, which looked more like lurking places for robbers and retreats for wild beasts than habitations for men, to the end that, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, 'In the habitations where before dragons dwelt might be grass with reeds and rushes.'"

² See Reeves' Adamnan, lib. ii. cap. 39, pp. 157, 158. "Cui sanctus, Surge, ait, et reside. Tum deinde residentem sic compellat, Septennem debebis in Ethica poenitentiam explere terra. Ego et tu usquequo numerum expleas septennalium annorum, Deo donante, victuri sumus. . . . Iisdemque diebus ad monasterium Campi missus Lunge, ibidem plene expletis in poenitentia septem annis, ad Sanctum, diebus quadragesimæ juxta ejus priorem prophetica jussionem, revertitur." Campus Lunge was a penitential station in the island of Tiree, where a small chapel stood, and the place is now marked by a very ancient cross and some curious sepulchral slabs. See page 59, *ibid.*

lies in man as the eye follows their little ships, or still smaller canoes, specks on the wild waste of waters, in which they bore the sacred seed to Iceland and the Faroe Islands, and even, as is believed by Dahlmann, to the coast of America itself.¹

The first missionaries in Ireland seem to have aimed at conciliating pagan superstition, and they endeavoured to engraft their own faith upon the ancient objects of heathen veneration, dedicating to a saint the pillar, stone, or sacred fountain, and claiming for their own sacred books and reliquaries the same virtues which the Druids, by their incantations, pretended to give to rings and stones and talismans.² In like manner the bardic order, as we learn from Dr. Todd, was not regarded as essentially hostile to Christianity. The bards on their side appear to have inherited many of the offices and to have assumed several of the pretended powers of the ancient pagan Druids. Dubhtach, chief bard of Ireland, was one of the first of the converts to Christianity, and Benen, Fiacc, and Columba himself are the authors of bardic compositions.

Such engrafting and interweaving of one system of religion upon another, of which we have so many examples in the early growth of Christianity in Italy, bears fruit of deep and solemn interest when symbolized in the art and architecture which belong to the same period. It now remains for us to establish by a close examination of these ruins, that a corresponding link between pagan and Christian forms of building is to be found in the monuments illustrated in the first part of this work.

Our inquiry commences with that long line of forts which guards our western shores (see Plates I. to XV. vol 1).³ There are many points about these remains which should make us hesitate to associate them with the very first races who peopled these islands. They could scarcely have been the work of a nomadic tribe; their builders must have meant them to endure for generations to come. Earlier races have left us their mighty pyramids, but they were for the dead; these are places of shelter and defence for the living. Rude as they are, they still seem many degrees in advance of what we have learned of the first efforts of man either for habitation or defence. The earliest defensive works appear to have been mere banks of earth and stone, enclosing a certain space for the accommodation of the tribe and of their cattle. M. Viollet-le-Duc⁴ has shown that the primitive rampart in Gaul consisted of coarse gravel mixed

¹ "The accurate, learned, and unwearied Dahlmann," as he is called by Thomas Carlyle. See J. G. Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dänemark*, 3 vols. 8vo, Hamburg, 1840-3. See also Carlyle's *Early Kings of Norway*, pp. 2, 54, where these passages occur: "White Man's Land, called also *Great Ireland*, is supposed to mean the two Carolinas, down to the Southern Cape of Florida. In Dahlmann's opinion, the Irish themselves might even pretend to have probably been the first discoverers of America; they had evidently got to Iceland itself before the Norse exiles found it out."

² Todd, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 127.

³ Lord Dunraven examined twenty-four such forts on the west coast of Ireland, seven of which were in the Islands of Aran. They are almost always placed in isolated and commanding situations. The writer refrains from offering any further opinion as to the date of such buildings. All that can be done as yet is, by following various lines of investigation, to diminish the wide area of time over which they have been spread by drawing them within a gradually narrowing space.

⁴ *Annals of a Fortress*, p. 13.

with earth, bonded together with trunks of trees raised in layers to a height of five feet and surrounding an area of 200 feet in diameter, while access was gained to the top by an inclined plane and the entrances were mere notches in the embankment. In districts where wood and earth are scarce, it is, of course, natural that stone should be the material selected, but stone embankments may be thrown up with little evidence of the forethought, systematic labour, and constructive skill that are clearly discoverable in these great Irish forts. For a period so rude and primitive as that of the Pagan Gaels, when cemented and tool-dressed masonry was unknown, the construction of these walls is marvellously fine. Without mortar of any kind, they are raised in such compact and close-fitting masses as has enabled them to endure the wind and rain of many centuries. Built of stones varying in size according to the districts in which they are found,¹ each wall consists of a central core of rough rubble, faced on both sides by stones, carefully chosen and laid so as to produce an even surface. Three such structures, thus composed of a rubble centre and faced in dry walling, form a triple compact mass, usually 18 ft. in thickness and 20 ft. in height. In many cases vertical jointings are observable in these walls (see Plates IV. and XIII.) which suggest the idea of the work having been portioned out in lots to the labourers. It seems as if the wall had been built in short lengths, each completed independently of the other, and such a method would resemble that which the French term building in "parcs." In some very few instances (vol. i. p. 17) such as the Dubh Cathair, (Plate VI.) Kilfenora, Cahir Dún Fergus, and the Cashel Bán, the masonry betrays haste and comparative want of care, but in all other cases great attention has been paid to the construction. The stones which are fixed as headers are tilted downwards towards the face of the wall, a device adopted to keep the water out of the joints by letting the moisture drain off the surface, such as is seen in mason's work in the North of England. Mr. Wilkinson, who has paid great attention to our early architecture, is of opinion that the large blocks were quarried, and that tools² were employed in that process; but however this may be, it is certain that no marks of masons' implements have been detected upon the stones in place; nothing like the rude mortice and tenon joints in the Stonehenge trilithons.

The existence of regularly formed doorways, such as that of Staigue Fort or Dún Aengus, at once stamps these buildings with an architectural character, and seems to point, however faintly, to the dawn of that intelligence which afterwards bore fruit in the finely proportioned portals of Banagher and Maghera. "The evidence of regular design at once raises these forts to the rank of 'buildings,' and places them far above the ordinary

¹ These stones are often of great size, from 5 ft. 7 in. long by 3 ft. deep, to 9 ft. long by 3 ft. deep.

² This is the opinion of the author of a short but practical and sensible essay on the Ancient Architecture of Ireland, Mr. George Wilkinson, who remarks at p. 59 of his work, "That tools were known and used as far as necessary there can be little doubt, for the raising such a mass of materials required more than a collection of surface stones, and they show every appearance of being quarried or properly broken from larger blocks." M. Viollet-le-Duc considers that the first implements used for quarrying were strong levers of wood hardened by fire, with which the stones partially below the level of the ground were forced up. Such primitive tools must have been superseded by iron when the stones were quarried for these Irish forts.

camps and strongholds of the Britons,"¹ the entrances to which are but gaps in the bank. In these doorways, which are all formed with inclined sides and horizontal lintel, we see, as at Staigue and Dún Aengus, that the weight of the superstructure is thrown off the lintel by means of a still wider stone placed a layer or two above it, and at Dún Aengus a vertical line formed by a projection of the portion of the wall around the doorway seems to have been intended to follow and mark out its outline, as did the architrave in apertures of a later date. These entrances vary in depth from 16 to 27 ft., according to the thickness of the wall, and are roofed by a series of stone slabs from 6 to 8 ft. in length. In some cases a reveal in the centre of the passage shows that it was occasionally furnished with double doors, which were also fastened with bolts, or rather bars of wood, the holes for the reception of which may still be seen. These fastenings are mentioned in the life of St. Columba, where it is said that when he knocked at the gate of King Brude's fortress the doors instantly flew open, the bolts having been driven back suddenly with great force. The door is sometimes approached by a passage between two walls formed of long stones set upright—a feature which is afterwards seen repeated in the entrance to St. Brendan's oratory. Platforms, offsets, or banquettes ran along the inner sides of the walls, to which four, and sometimes even ten, independent flights of steps gave access. Passages and dome-roofed chambers occur in the thickness of the walls, and in the inner area of the fortress little round huts with conical roofs, or long ones of the form of upturned boats, are found to have been constructed in clusters.

The dome formed by the projection of one stone beyond another till the walls meet in one flag at the apex, and the use of the horizontal lintel in the doorways, are forms universally adopted by early races in all periods of the history of man and in various portions of the globe before the knowledge of the principle of the arch had reached them, while the resemblances in masonry which have caused our antiquaries hitherto to style it Cyclopean and Pelasgic appear to arise entirely from the condition of the builder's knowledge and a certain similarity in the geological formation of the country. It is a remarkable fact, that neither in Greece nor in Italy is this so-called Cyclopean or polygonal style of construction ever found except where the hard limestone that forms the framework of both countries supplied the materials close at hand.²

The resemblance between the pagan and ecclesiastical fort is so strong and so significant of the same primitive condition of knowledge in the builders, that some comparative study of both monuments is required before those points of difference are discovered which may prevent us from falling into the error of supposing that all the monastic forts were originally pagan and afterwards converted to Christian uses. This was the

¹ The editor has to thank Mr. George Clark of Dowlais for most of these observations on the forts of Ireland.

² Among the earliest architectural remains found at Hissarlik by Schliemann, the walls, though of massive construction, so far as their thickness and solidity are concerned, have no resemblance to Cyclopean structures, but are composed of stones of moderate size, with the interstices filled with clay. This difference may be accounted for by the fact that the soft tertiary limestone of the hill of Hissarlik is totally unsuited to such massive work; and so in Ireland it may be questioned whether the art of stone building in certain districts throughout the country did not occasionally arise from the abundance of stone and scarcity of earth, while in other places, where stones were not available without quarrying, we find earthen forts, raths, and embankments.

case doubtless, in some instances, as at Kilbannon and Kilmurvey,¹ but in others the monuments themselves bear witness to a difference in original intention and design. In the first place, the pagan fortress is composed of two and sometimes three areas or wards, the interior, or fort proper, being either an oval, a circle, or half an ellipse, but with no sign of variation in the ground-plan which would suggest that it was meant to enclose structures already in existence; whereas the Christian fort deviates from the regular oval or circular form so as to take in the oratories and other buildings it is intended to protect. Again, while the inner area of the military fort varies in extent from 227 ft. to 60 ft., that of the cashels remains about 140 ft. in diameter, being in accordance with the measurement said in the old legends to have been adopted by St. Patrick in the monastery built under his direction at Ferta, beside Armagh, as well as in other cases.² While the masonry of these walls is exactly similar to that of the forts, there are differences in their construction which can only be accounted for by the differing requirements of their builders. The military defences were in general triple, or at least double compacted walls, and it was Lord Dunraven's opinion that this style of building was simply chosen as the easiest method of erecting a wall of very great thickness. The cashels of the monasteries were single walls somewhat less broad and massive, and there appears to have been the same inferiority in their height, which, if we may take that of Inismurray as a standard, did not exceed 13 ft. The inner face of the military wall is furnished with platforms and flights of steps by which the defenders could reach the parapet in times of attack; the doorways, though similar in form, are always smaller by about 1 ft. 6 in. each way in the monastic buildings. The outwork, resembling the *chevaux de frise* of a modern fortification, by which the approach to the fort is rendered difficult, has never been observed outside the ecclesiastical cashel. May it not be held that all such differences arise from this, that the original and paramount purpose of one was defence in time of war, and of the other was seclusion?³

All peculiarities of masonry that are observable in these buildings of the pagan period are also found to exist in the cashels and cells of the Christian monasteries, but the latter in their turn exhibit certain changes indicative of advance; the stones of which they are formed are sometimes rounded by tools, the oratory is always rectangular and an east window is introduced, while the symbol of the cross is seen to stamp the buildings with an ecclesiastical character. The east window is extremely rude, either square or round-headed; if the latter, the arch is merely scooped out of a single stone. There is always

¹ St. Fursey's monastery in Suffolk was built in a *castrum*. See Bede, Ecc. Hist., chap. xix. p. 139, Bohn Ed.

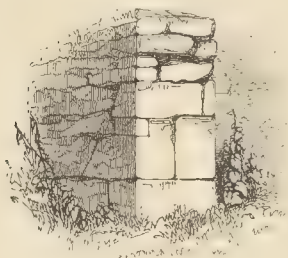
² "The way in which Patrick made *Ferta* was this: Seven score feet in the Fort, and seven and twenty feet in the Great House; and 17 feet in the Kitchen, and 7 ft. in the Oratory. And it is thus the houses of the Churches were built always." (Todd, St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, p. 477.)

³ The erection of the cashel of St. Cuthbert on the island of Lindisfarne is thus described by Bede. "He had there, after expelling the enemies, with the assistance of the brethren, built himself a small dwelling, with a trench about it, and the necessary cells, and an oratory. . . . when he had here served God in solitude many years, the mound which encompassed his habitation being so high that he could from thence see nothing but heaven, to which he so ardently aspired." Bede, Ecc. Hist., chap. xxviii. p. 227, Bohn Ed. "It was built of sods and stones so large that five men could hardly lift them, and was nearly round, being four or five perches in diameter, and the wall inside was higher than outside." Bede, Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 19, sec. 30.

a broad internal splay and the aperture is generally on the face of the outside wall, but in some instances the window is set in the thickness of the walls and expands both outside and inside.

It is not easy to determine how such windows were closed; we learn from Bede (*Vit. Cuth. ch. xlvi.*) that they were in some instances filled with straw, and in others that skins were nailed against them. Eadbert of Lindisfarne is said to have covered them entirely with lead (*Id. liii. ch. 25*).

The oratories that are found in the group of monastic buildings within these enclosures, nine of which were examined and illustrated by Lord Dunraven, seem to form a link between the round beehive-shaped cell common to both Pagan and Christian forts, and such more finished buildings as that of Gallarus. The roof is in the form of an upturned boat.¹ They are angular, oblong structures, with walls either sloping in a curve



PILASTER.

towards the roof or built in steps, as that on the Magharees and Bishop's Island. It may be a question worthy the consideration of authors more competent to deal with these subjects than the writer, how far in these rude oratories we may trace the germs of what in after times were developed into marked features in the churches of a more advanced style. Is it possible that the plinth, from which both tower and church are seen to rise, may have originated in the retention of this first step which forms the wide foundation of the rude oratory, and that the projections, evidently intended for shelter to the doors, formed by two rows of upright stones, may have given rise to the deep pilasters at the corners which serve as shelter to the east and west walls, and that the projecting stones seen in the corners and the roofs of the monastic cells, which some have thought to represent the handles of the ark, were originally meant as supports for scaffolding or pegs by means of which a covering of sods or thatch was tied down on the roof, and afterwards retained as ornamental features like gargoyls at the corners of the buildings?

There is, however, one especial feature in many of these oratories and cells for which no mechanical or utilitarian object can be suggested, which nevertheless at once conveys their story and marks the dawn of Christian decorative art. Over the doorway five or seven quartz stones, rounded and waterworn, whose whiteness tells in strong contrast to the dark slate of which the walls are often built, are set in the form of a cross. There is a deep interest in the picture this calls up to the mind, of the early church-builder going down to search on the wild Atlantic shore for these large white stones, and carrying them up, one by one, to set them in his wall, so as in this utterly simple way to stamp his dwelling with the symbol of his faith.

The belief that the early churches of Ireland were generally of wood is much shaken

¹ *Ceterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ mapalia ili vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt.* Sallustius, *Bell. Jugurth.*

by the evidence of the monuments themselves as well as by the testimony of the oldest Irish writers. The Virgin Crumtheris¹ is described as living in a stone-built oratory near Armagh in the fifth century, and we find stone buildings mentioned as erected in parts of the country where wood must have been quite as easily attainable as stone, if not more so—for instance, in the Martyrology of Donegal (p. 95) St. Becan is described as building a cashel at Emlagh in East Meath (Imlech-Fiach in Fera-cul-Breagh), for which stone was evidently the material chosen. The story is as follows:—

"When Columcille and the king of Erin, Diarmait, son of Fergus, . . . came to where Becan was, they found him erecting a fort and a wet cloak about him, and he praying. Concerning which is said:—

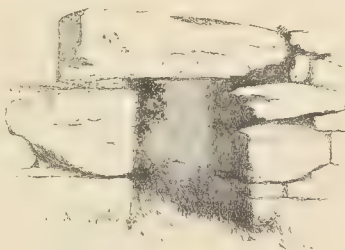
" Making a wall, praying,
Kneeling, pure prayer,
His tears flowing without unwillingness,
Were the virtues of Becan without fault.

" Hand on a stone, hand lifted up,
Knee bent to set a rock,
Eyes shedding tears, other lamentation,
And mouth praying."

It is true that in the description given in the Annals of the Four Masters of the destruction of the church of Armagh by the Norsemen in the year 890, the following lines occur:—

" Pity, O, Patrick, that thy prayers did not stay
The foreigners with their axes when striking thy oratory."

And "the allusion here," as Dr. O'Donovan observes,² "to the axes might suggest that the oratory at Armagh was of wood unless it be understood that the axes were used to break open the door." In like manner the numerous instances recorded of the burning of the churches by the Norsemen have been taken as proof that these buildings were altogether composed of an inflammable material, although we know that the Cloicthech or belfry, which was always of stone, is also frequently described as "burnt" by the same marauders. All that is necessarily meant to be conveyed in such passages is that whatever was combustible in these buildings, such as the floors, roofs, etc., was burnt, just as in the present day we speak of houses as liable to be burnt, the walls of which are of stone or brick.



DOORWAY OF ST. FINAN'S ORATORY.

¹ See Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 163. *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 788. O'Connor, *Rev. Hib. Script. tom. iv.* p. 113. Petrie, *Eccl. Arch.*, p. 347.

² *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 546, note b.

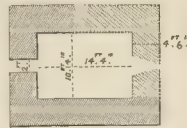
It may be suggested also that those passages so often quoted from Bede and William of Malmesbury, in which it is said that most of the oratories of the Scotie saints were formed of wattles of wood and clay, may be merely applicable to the erections of the first Irish teachers in Scotland and the north of England. Their buildings, like the tent of the nomad, or the temporary shed of the foreign missionary at the present day, might naturally have been of some less permanent material than they would use for that church in their native land, near which they might hope to spend their life and await their death. However this may be, we have at all events sufficient evidence that even in the very earliest time wood was not the only material employed.

The most interesting point about these oratories is their form. It is found that they were invariably small and angular, and this plan, which was very generally adopted both in England and Scotland, was followed as a rule in the Irish church so long as its architecture preserved a native character. When Christianity spread, and larger churches were built and a chancel was added to the building, the square end was always retained. It is possible that at the time immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity into Ireland this simple form may have been in use elsewhere for Christian churches. Three churches on the Continent are described as showing examples of this type: the Churches of Sitten in Switzerland and St. Giovanni e Paolo at Ravenna, have square east ends instead of apses, and the Chapel of Mouxi in the south of the Duchy of Chablais is described by Kugler as a simple oblong containing a later, but also oblong, altar compartment.¹ The Roman type, so far as we are familiar with it, does not agree with that found in Ireland, it is characterized—not by its square end, but by its rounded apse at the east end. However, the adoption of this basilica form dates not from the period when Christianity was first introduced into Rome, but from the time when it was adopted by the emperors, and when the basilica was converted into a Christian temple. May it not then be supposed that in the centuries before this there was a type, now lost in Italy, but which reached these islands in the fourth and fifth centuries? This is suggested by Mr. Freeman in a letter to Lord Dunraven, where he says, speaking of these angular oratories, that they possibly "represented the earliest churches of all before the basilicas were christianized and therefore before the apsidal form was introduced."

If we contemplate the condition of the Church at the period in which Christianity first penetrated to Ireland, it seems possible that we may find a clue to the origin of this angular and narrow type. The first meeting-houses of the early Christians were the "large upper room" and the subterranean vaults of the catacombs. The memory—not of the gorgeous basilica of the church of the emperors,—but of such modest chambers, was the tradition borne to Ireland by the first missionaries from the Continent.

¹ The two buildings first mentioned have high and slender towers, one square, the other round and detached, like so many of our Irish round towers, and in the third the west doorway has a horizontal lintel surmounted by a round arch. The cruciform shape which has since been usually given to churches in England was seldom adopted even there till after the tenth century. The first instance of the kind is generally supposed to have been the church at Ramsay, built in 969 (Gale, *Hist. Ram.*, c. 20). In an ancient Anglo-Saxon poem (Ethelwulf de Abbat. Lindis., c. 22), mention is made of a church built in the shape of a cross. In general, however, the Anglo-Saxon churches approached the form of a square (*Ibid.* c. 20. Bede, l. ii, 14). A square-ended chancel may be seen at Headbourn Worthy Church, near Winchester.

In the representation of the Temple of Jerusalem as it was conceived by the Scribe of the Book of Kells in the seventh century we have doubtless a faithful image of this early type as it appeared externally—an oblong, rectangular building with a high-pitched roof and finials on the gables such as still are found in parts of Ireland near the buildings from the roofs of which they have fallen. It is the old traditional form of the Ark—that building in which the Church was rescued from the Flood—of the shrine in early Christian art, in which were entombed the relics of some form that “once had been the Temple of the Spirit,” and it is the form of the Tomb and mortuary chapel which was preserved in Ireland even after the establishment of Romanesque architecture.¹



GROUND PLAN OF TEMPLE GEL.

The association of the church and the shrine with the tomb in the minds of these early Christians is not to be held as indicative of gloom in their forms and modes of worship; on the contrary, it is rather the result of that happier condition of mind which led them when speaking of the grave to term it “the place of resurrection;” the gloom of the tomb is dispelled. And these things are illustrated in various passages in the lives of the early saints connected with the founding of churches. They sought the knowledge of the place in which they should be buried from some holy man gifted with the spirit of prophecy, that in that spot they might erect their church and cells. Thus in the life of St. Moedoc we read; “Another day some good men prayed God to show them the place of their resurrection, wishing to serve God near it. Then the Angel of the Lord said unto them, ‘Go ye to St. Moedoc, and he will show unto you the place of your resurrection.’ When they had come to him the Saint said unto them, ‘Did ye hear the voice of a bell when ye were coming hither?’ They answered, ‘We did not hear it.’ The Saint said unto them, ‘Come with me, and I will show you the place in which ye shall rise again.’ They went together, and the Saint of God showed unto them the place of their resurrection, and there those wonder-working men remained during their life and till their death.”

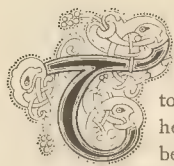
This angular type is, as we have already remarked, found in all the oratories of the first monasteries, and there seems no reason to doubt that they belong to a period ranging from the fifth to the seventh century and are the very buildings erected by those founders with whose names they are connected, such as Mochua, Brendan, Finan, Senan, Fechin, and others. The dates at which they lived or died, as given either by the annalists or martyrologists, enable us to form an approximate idea of the age of these monasteries. Mochua, founder of Nendrum, is said to have died in 497; Brendan of Inisglora, died 577. Finan of Lough Curraun, who is said also to have founded the Church of St. Michael

¹ It may be here noted that in such places as Clonmacnois, most of the small churches grouped together within the cemetery were mortuary chapels, such as Temple Kelly, Temple McLaughlin, and others belonging to the kings of Hy Many, Moylurg, and North and South Munster, etc. The circular churches of Romanesque architecture are, according to Mr. Fergusson, derived from the Roman tomb, such as that of Cecilia Metella or Helena; and besides the circular type, there was another class of tombs in Rome, or columbaria, generally oblong or square rooms. *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i. pp. 319, 381.

on the Skellig, lived at the close of the sixth century; Muredach, from whom the island of Inis-murray (Inis Muiredach) is held to have been named, was a contemporary of St. Patrick; and Molaise, after whom the present church is called, died in the year 560; while Fechin of High Island, and Molaga of Leaba Molaga, died in 665. A comparison between the buildings of Brendan and Finan and those of Fechin and Molaga bears evidence to the slow and gradual improvement which was taking place from the sixth to the seventh century. The stones in the latter instances are sometimes cut, and the cross or a rude architrave is seen carved on the doorways, and cement is first introduced in a very sparing manner. That these monasteries and cells remained in use to a comparatively late period seems also certain from the notices in the *Annals of the Abbots* in the monasteries on the Skellig and the island of Inis-murray, which occur as late as the ninth and eleventh centuries. In Scotland such island hermitages were in use at a still later period, and a tradition is recorded in the "*Scoti Chronicon*" (lib. v. cap. 37) that in the year 1123 Alexander I. lived three days on the island of Inchcolm, where he was driven by a storm and "where at that time lived an islander hermit who, belonging to the service of St. Columba, devoted himself sedulously to his duties at a certain little chapel, there content with such poor food as the milk of one cow and the shell and small sea fishes which he could collect."

CHAPTER II.

STONE CHURCHES WITH CEMENT.



THE tendency of writers on the History and Antiquities of Ireland to exaggerate the age of her monuments and to antedate the period of her intellectual growth by attributing to the sixth century what really belongs to the ninth and tenth, has led to much misapprehension as to the causes of her rise and fall. Nothing can exceed the rudeness of those relics of the early Christian teachers that have been preserved for us through the care of their relic-loving successors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We read of bells, but we find them to have been as inferior to the bronze bell of the tenth century as the uncemented stone oratory is to the Romanesque church of the twelfth, for the actual seventh century bell remains to speak for itself within the shrine that was made to preserve it some centuries later; and we read of crosiers, but find them to have been the oaken staff of the itinerant bishop which is still visible through the chinks and openings of the metal case in which it was afterwards enshrined. But, perhaps, nothing helps the mind more vividly to realize the simple practices of these early Christians than the sight and touch of the rude stone chalices, such as have been preserved to the present date in a few of our most remote churches. We are rather led to conclude that the period between the sixth and ninth centuries in Ireland was one of steady progress both politically and intellectually from a very rude beginning. Her borders were enlarged by the

colonization of a great portion of the south of Scotland¹ and the conquest of the Isle of Man,² and her sphere of intellectual and moral usefulness was extended to Germany, Flanders, Switzerland, and Gaul, while her missionaries first bore the Christian religion to the heathens of Northumbria, Scotland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands. It would be well if we could learn more of the life at the centre of that star that sent its rays so far. It was about the beginning of the sixth century that a colony of the Irish, then termed Scoti, part possessors of Dalriada, or the northern half of the county of Antrim, passed over to the nearest part of Argyleshire, where they permanently settled, and founded the kingdom of British Scotia or Dalriada, Cantyre and Knapdale, being the first lands thus colonized. It was not till nearly a century had elapsed that the Dalriadan rulers exchanged the rank of lord for that of king; and in the ninth century the final conquest of the south of Scotland was effected by the Irish. In the year 590 a council was convened at Drumcheatt (Drumkeat), on the river Roe, in Londonderry, which was attended by Columba—where Aedan, lord of the British Dalriadans, obtained a formal recognition of his independence, and was proclaimed king. It was at this council also that the alliance of the regal and ecclesiastical power of Ireland was first cemented. This event was followed by the battle of Moyra, which proved the expiring effort of the Pagan and Bardic party in Ireland against the newly consolidated power of Church and Crown.³

The buildings which come next in order of development were probably erected after this council in 590, when the Church of Ireland thus attained a more stable position; and it seems likely that the transitions from the dry wall and undressed masonry to the cemented walls and dressed stones of the later buildings, in which picked and chiselled work is visible,

¹ Fergus, son of Erc, lord of Dalriada, sailed from Ulster into Scotland, and in A.D. 503 founded a Dalriadan kingdom there. He also visited Man and the Hebrides, and about A.D. 580, Baeden, king of Uladh (or Ulidia) cleared Man of the foreigners, and received tribute from Munster, Connaught, Skye, and Man. From this time it is said that the island belonged to Ulster. *Ogygia*, pp. 323, 466; *Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* vols. v. and vi. Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 373.

² While the Romans were in Britain Man was an Irish island, and it will be seen that a connection long existed between them. (By Ptolemy, lib. ii., called *Monade*. See *Rolt's Hist. of the Isle of Man*, p. 3, Lond., 1773.

³ The most ancient, as well as one of the most interesting monuments of Celtic literature, called *St. Patrick's Hymn to the Holy Trinity*, is certainly prior to the sixth century; the hymn of *Broccán and Ultán* may be attributed respectively to the middle of the seventh century; but the actual remains of this early date are excessively few. Columbanus, born at this period, was the author of an *Exposition of the Psalms*; *Epistles to Pope Gregory the Great* and *Boniface the IVth on the Eastern question*; a *Treatise against Arianism*, along with many other treatises, as well as being the founder of a monastic rule, described by *Ussher* as equal in importance to the *Benedictine*. It is not till we approach the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century that we have existing proofs in any number of the intellectual capacity of the Irish at this time, and the very condition of the language in the ninth century points to the pre-existence of intellectual power in its possessors. The most copious specimens of old Irish prose yet discovered are comprised in *Tirechan's Annotations*, contained in the *Book of Armagh*, which date from 704, in the handwriting of *Ferdornach*, who died in Armagh in the year 844. The *St. Gall MSS.* Leyden copy of *Priscian*, written by *Dubthach* about the year 838, and the Irish glosses in the *Berne codici*, as well as the *Book of Deir*, may also be enumerated as belonging to this period. It was about this time that the *Culdee* order was founded by *Aengus*, and *Johannes Scotus Erigena*, and *Dicuill* the geographer, also lived and wrote. See *Letronne, Recherches Geogr. sur Dicuil* (par. 1814); Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 169, note i.

took place in the seventh and eighth centuries. Chancels, with a regular radiating arch, have been added to many of these buildings afterwards; but where a knowledge of the true arch is manifested, it seems more likely that they belong to the period of the erection of the first detached belfries, that is, as we have already said, to the ninth and tenth centuries. The annalists record the foundations of great numbers of churches in the sixth and seventh centuries, but we have already seen what was the rude and primitive style of building then in use. They also record the erection of many churches in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the existing remains of these buildings prove that an ornate Irish Romanesque was the style then practised. It seems fair to assume that these intermediate buildings belong to an intermediate date, and that the reason why their erection is not noticed by the annalists is that they were not new foundations, but merely rebuildings, on a better principle, of the rude oratory—often perhaps of wood—of the first Christian missionary. The west end of Tuaim Greine (see Plate LXIV., Vol. I.) is the first example for the date of which there is historic evidence. This church with its belfry was erected by the Bishop of Clonmacnois and Tuaim Greine, Cormac Ua Cillen, of whom it is said, "*Sapiens et Senex, et Episcopus quievit in Christo, A.D. 964.*" He also built Temple Cillen at Clonmacnois. In the doorway, with horizontal lintel and inclined sides, in the massive polygonal masonry and square pilasters at the corners, we have the Irish church of the beginning of the tenth century, immediately before the transition to Romanesque, which seems to have begun in the reign of Brian Borumha.

The third period in Irish architecture is marked by the introduction of cement, and embraces those churches in which there are but slight traces of mortar, down to those of a later period in which the stones were regularly bedded in this material. The cement of the earliest builders on the sea-coast often largely contained shells and sea-sand, while inland a compound of mud and gravel was used. In many cases the walls appear to have been first dry-built, and then this composition was poured in a liquid state to filtrate through from the top; later on the wall was well built with two faces and a rubble core grouted in a similar manner; while in the time of Cormac O'Cillen we have the stones well bedded in good mortar. The archaistic and so-called cyclopean character of this masonry, especially in the limestone districts, is very striking, even though cement be used. The great stones varying from ten and even seventeen feet to eight and six feet in length, are often found dovetailed and fitted into one another, as the great stones above the lion's gate at Mycenæ; and polygonal masonry often appears in company with ashlar, while ashlar is seen occasionally superimposed by rubble and wide-jointed, irregular courses of stone. That masonry so archaic in character should be seen in company with sectional and surface mouldings as in Temple Martin, Temple Cronan, and St. Dervila's Church,¹ is a phenomenon which could only occur in a country where the chisel had been long in use, and the progress of sculpture, with still ruder tools, from its first beginnings in the works of the primitive tomb builders, had been uninterrupted. The use of the chisel seems to have been introduced into this country, not only before the Anglo-Norman invasion of the twelfth century, but even before the advent of the Christian missionaries of the fifth; and in the sculptured sepulchral slabs, as well as

¹ See Vol. I. of this work, pp. 105, 106, 108.

in the terminal crosses of Ireland, there is ample evidence of the gradual development of skill, from the mere shallow surface work of the primitive stone-cutter to the deeper undercutting with chisel and hammer by which groups of small figures or intricate designs are thrown up in relief. That such raised work is seen on the slabs at Clonmacnois belonging to the dates 887, 899, 914,¹ 994, as well as that of St. Berichtir,² who died A. D. 839, and Muredach of Monasterboice, before 923, proves that there was sufficient skill existing in the country at these dates for the execution of any simple work, such as the chevron or pellet mouldings—which whether incised or in relief are in themselves but forms of ornamental design common in all archaic art.

The features which give these churches their distinctive character are the doorways, east window, plinth, pilasters and corner-stones, and their forms seem all to be developments from the architecture of a primitive period. The doorways with inclined sides and horizontal lintel have grown in height and dignity of proportion, and are decorated with the architrave, sometimes double, sometimes single, such as appears on the doorway of the Treasury of Atreus or those of the Etruscan tombs. In many instances a reveal on the inside may be seen with stone sockets above or in the lintel, which were appliances for the shutter that served the purpose of a door. The only window in these single chambered churches was above the altar in the east wall, and this is almost invariably round-headed, the arch being scooped out of the stone while the sides incline. The aperture rarely exceeds 9 in., but there is a wide internal splay; punched work is seen on the stones of many of these windows, as at Kill Enda. In the churches of the Four Beauties, Temple Assurnidhe and Kilgobnet, the ancient stone altar is still standing beneath these simple little windows, and garlanded with woodbine, ivy, and the thorny bramble, they seem to speak of the sacred customs and symbolic rites of the early builders of these oratories.

The plinth we have already met with in the oratory of Gallarus and in some of the monastic cells. It is a square, plain, projecting face at the bottom of a wall immediately above the ground. In classical buildings the plinth is sometimes divided into two or more steps, and in Gothic buildings it is generally in two stages, the tops of which are either splayed or finished with a moulding. The next feature appears to be more common, and bears a rude similarity to a pilaster, which it must be termed for want of a better word. In classical architecture, the pilaster³ is a square column, generally attached to the wall, from which it projects from a third to a sixth of its breadth; in Saxon architecture such columns are found running up vertically in rows on the face of the wall as well as on the corners; but in Ireland they are seen only at the angles, and are simply prolongations of the side walls in the primitive churches, and are sometimes continued all along the gable, as in Inis-mac-Dara, or along a portion of it, as at Kilmalkedar.⁴

¹ See Plates LXXI. and XCI.

² See *Ulster Journal of Arch.*, paper by Dr. Reeves, vol. vi. pp. 267, 275; *Christian Inscriptions of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 54.

³ The gradation in the forms of such pilaster buttresses is well illustrated by the following instances:—Leabha Molaga, Plate XXXV.; at the Church of St. Colman Mac Duach, Plate XXXIX.; Kill Enda, Plate XLI.; Dulane, Plate XLVII.; Clonamery, Plate LIX., and Tomgraney, Plate LXIV.

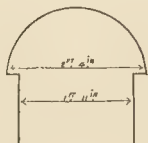
⁴ Plate XCIII.

The projections, like brackets or gargoyles, alluded to above, which are placed at the four corners of these churches, at the angles of the gable, are among the most peculiar features of these churches, and are found in the oldest and rudest buildings.¹

In the older churches of Ireland, marked by the doorway with horizontal lintel and inclined sides, we find that the chancel is not bonded into the nave, and in four instances, viz., our Lady's Church and Trinity Church at Glendalough, St. Breacan's in Aranmor, and Banagher Church, the two portions of the buildings are contemporaneous, and afford evidence of the retention of the horizontal lintel after the knowledge of the arch had been attained. A very striking example of this is seen in the interior of the doorway of Banagher (Plate LXI.), where a relieving arch is thrown over the lintel, as also appears in the doorway of St. Kevin's Church and the cathedral at Glendalough.

No fixed plan seems to have been adopted in these buildings, as to the relative proportions of the two parts of the building. In Tomgraney the chancel was originally the same length as the nave as well as the same width; it is now ten feet longer. There is a difference of only four feet in the nave and chancel of Trinity Church at Glendalough, and from this the difference varies 5 ft. 6 in., 6 ft. 6 in., 11 ft. 4 in., 15 ft., to 23 ft. 6 in., the chancel of Glendalough Cathedral being just half the size of the nave. At first the chancel does not appear to have been better or even as well lighted as the nave, and it is impossible to decide now whether there was any difference in the roof. The earliest arches appear to have been semicircular, and spring from jambs which incline like the sides of the doorways.

The earliest form of these arches, as that of Trinity Church, Glendalough,² is without imposts. They consist of a single sweep or soffit only, no sub-arch and no moulding or even chamfer; but the voussoirs are dressed and fitted with skill. Then the arch of Oughtmama³ in Clare springs from imposts with a chamfered edge about 6 in. high and projecting only two inches, and the voussoirs are but 4 in. thick and uncut. The chancel arch of Glendalough Cathedral was probably not more elaborate, to judge from portions of its jambs still existing, which are without mouldings. The size of these arches varied from 9 to 10 ft. in width and 12 to 13 ft. in height. In some cases the arch is set back from the jambs from which it springs in this manner, a peculiarity which is represented in the arch in the book of Kells, beneath which the figure of Christ is standing. Such an arch may also be seen in the church of Weir on the island of the same name in the Orkneys.⁴ At first no impost is seen; then a rude impost formed of an unsquared block of stone is introduced, as at Kilmacduach in Aran,⁵ and then appears the chamfered impost, as at Oughtmama. Where the chancel is not bonded into the nave, and where the masonry is different in character from that of the latter, it may be presumed that the chancel is an addition of a later date, and the arch being in general built on the radiating principle would support this theory; for the knowledge of the true arch does not seem to have reached Ireland till some time



¹ Compare the examples of these brackets as shown in Plates XXXVII., XLIX., LII., LIV.

² Plate L.

³ Plate LIII.

⁴ See Orkneyinga Saga, Introd., p. xcvi.

⁵ Plate XL.

after they built stone churches with cement. With the addition of the chancel arose the necessity of lighting the nave, and windows were introduced into the side walls, often square or triangular, always inferior in construction to the east window; a little window is sometimes introduced in the east end of the south wall, the purpose of which appears to have been to cast additional light on the altar.

These buildings were in some instances roofed with shingles, and a sufficient number of examples remain to show that solid stone roofs were not uncommon. Such roofs were built on the same principle as those of the uncemented oratories, until the period of transition from the false to the true arch, which is marked by such a building as St. Columba's house, described in the Introduction to this work.¹

Before passing on to the study of the later and richer style, it may be well to pause and contemplate the long series of primitive remains already illustrated, and dwell upon the history they disclose and the wider interest connected with them, following the guidance of Mr. Freeman, and working by the light shed on the subject by his singular insight. Such study may bring the whole history of "the Church and her material fabrics before us in a new garb," and her estate may be vividly realized by these examples, when "her temples were but the damp cave, or the rude hut; when she dwelt not as yet in the halls of the patrician and the palace of the emperor." "These buildings, themselves of the most venerable antiquity, the earliest existing Christian temples in northern Europe, are the representatives of others more venerable still; they derived not their origin from the gorgeous basilicas of Constantine and Theodosius, but in them we behold the direct offspring of the lowly temples of the days of persecution,—the humble shrines where Cyprian bent in worship and which Valerian and Diocletian swept from off the earth."²

CHAPTER III.

ECCLESIASTICAL TOWERS.



THE hope of defining the steps which mark the ascent of architecture in Ireland we have striven to indicate by her monuments that gradual progress, from the first rude style that seems to have prevailed at the introduction of Christianity in the country, to that of the close of the ninth century, when the use of cement and the hammer was known to Irish builders, but when the horizontal lintel had not yet been superseded by the arch. At this point we arrive at a class of buildings which forms a striking innovation in the hitherto humble character of Irish church architecture, that is, the lofty pillar tower. In the beginning of this century the existence of 118 of these circular ecclesiastical towers in Ireland was

asserted, and a complete list of them will be given in the Appendix to this work. The

¹ Vol. i. Introd. p. xxiii.

² See History of Architecture, p. 196, and Works of Walter Moyle, vol. i. pp. 376 to 396. London: 1726.

latest researches have led to the conviction that the type was not peculiar to Ireland before the eleventh century; and twenty-two foreign examples of similar towers may now be added to those of Ireland, making in all 140 of these remarkable structures. The present chapter will be devoted solely to an examination of such as have been found in Ireland, while in the next some further suggestions as to their probable age and origin will be offered.¹

It becomes evident that when the seventy-six remaining towers of Ireland are compared, a certain development of knowledge and skill in the art of building may be traced in these various examples, and that such changes are analogous to those which took place in the church architecture of Ireland after the eighth century. A rough classification is attempted in the following table, showing the gradation in masonry and the corresponding change in the character of the apertures which may be observed in these towers.

FIRST STYLE.	SECOND STYLE.	THIRD STYLE.	FOURTH STYLE.
Rough field-stones untouched by hammer or chisel, not rounded, but fitted by their length to the curve of the wall, roughly coursed, wide-jointed, with spalds or small stones fitted into the interstices. Mortar, of coarse, unsifted sand or gravel.	Stones roughly hammer-dressed, rounded to the curve of the wall, decidedly though somewhat irregularly coursed. Spalds, but often badly bonded together. Mortar freely used.	Stones laid in horizontal courses, well-dressed and carefully worked to the round and batter, the whole cemented in strong plain mortar of lime and sand.	Strong, rough but excellent ashlar masonry, rather open-jointed, and therefore closely analogous to the English-Norman masonry of the first half of the twelfth century; or, in some instances, finest possible examples of well-dressed ashlar. Sandstone in squared courses.

¹ In 1792 Dr. D. A. Beaufort published a list comprising fifty-six of these buildings in his work entitled *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*. Among the posthumous papers of Dr. Petrie and the letters of Dr. O'Donovan, when engaged on the Ordnance Survey, more or less information is supplied as to seventy-six of these structures in Ireland. Mr. George Wilkinson, in his valuable work on the *Practical Geology and Architecture of Ireland*, has given useful notes on twenty-five of these towers. The Rev. Dr. Reeves also gives careful descriptions of many of them, which may be found scattered throughout his various works. Guided by the information gathered from such sources, Lord Dunraven selected sixteen for illustration, which might be taken as typical examples of these buildings, but among them there is unfortunately no good example of the first and apparently earliest style. The notes on these, added to the information above mentioned, assist the effort now made to classify and arrange them according to the development of architectural skill shown in their construction.

² *Teachdoe*. Figure of Christ in rude relief over the doorway.

³ *Castledermot*. The doorway does not correspond with masonry of the rest of the building. It is arched and moulded.

⁴ *Scattery*. The doorway is on the ground floor; probably being on a small island the additional precaution of raising the door was not thought requisite.

⁵ *Antrim*. The doorway has a cross carved in relief upon it, and the whole tower has more the appearance of having been hastily erected than that of great age.

⁶ *Turlough*. The form of this tower—low and wide—suggests that it may belong to a totally different type.

⁷ *Trummery*. This tower is attached to a church.

⁸ *Donoughmore*. The doorway of this tower is of finer material than the tower; has architrave heads at the springing of the arch, and Crucifixion sculptured in relief.

BROAD CLASSIFICATION OF THE TOWERS ACCORDING TO THE AVERAGE STYLES OF THEIR MASONRY AND APERTURES.

NAMES OF TOWERS. N.B. Exceptional towers marked in italics, perfect towers in small capitals.	MASONRY.	DIMENSIONS OF PERFECT TOWERS.	DOORWAYS.	WINDOWS.
LUSK, CLONDALKIN, TEACHDOE, ² Drumboe, Swords, Drumcliff, <i>Castle- dermot</i> , ³ <i>Scattery</i> , ⁴ <i>Antrim</i> , ⁵ Oran, <i>Turlough</i> , ⁶ <i>Trum- mery</i> , ⁷ Drumclevee.	First Style of masonry.	Lusk, 100 ft. high by 43 ft. circum.; Clon- dalkin, 85 ft. by 43; Scattery, 125 ft. by 52 ft.; Antrim, 92 ft. by 50 ft.; Turlough, 70 ft. by 57 ft.	Of same material as the rest of the building, some- times stones roughly dressed; square-headed with inclined sides 5 ft. 6 high by 2 ft. wide. 8 ft. to 13 ft. above ground.	Same material as the rest of the building; nar- row apertures, square- headed or triangular, with inclined sides, near level of floors within tower.
Iniscaltra, Clones, MEE- LICK, Aghavuller, <i>Donough- more</i> , ⁸ <i>Roscrea</i> , ⁹ <i>Kildare</i> , ¹⁰ Kilree, Kilmacduach, Kil- cullen, Aughagower, Kil- bennan, CASHEL, ¹¹ MONAS- TERBOICE, ¹² Aranmor.	Second Style.	Meelick, 70 ft. high by 42 ft. circum. Cashel, 80 ft. by 42 ft. Monasterboice, 110 ft. by 51 ft.	First idea of arch, curve scooped out, three stones. Architrave occasionally occurs: stones of same material as tower, but roughly worked to the round.	Same material as rest of building; sometimes roughly cut and squared. Same form and size as before.
DEVENISH, ¹³ Glenda- lough, KILLALA, Kinneth, Cloyne, Armoy, Rattoo, Ballagh, Disert-Aengus, ¹⁴ <i>Dromiskin</i> , Kilkenny, Drumlane.	Third Style.	Devenish, 76 ft. high by 43 ft. circum. Killala, 84 ft. high by 51 ft. circum.	First idea of arch, curve scooped out of three stones: stones of some finer material than the wall of the tower, generally sand- stones or some free-work- ing stone; pellet and roll mouldings occasion- ally introduced.	Same form as before, but of finer material than the rest of the tower, and the windows generally better proportioned than the earlier ones.
TIMAHOE, ¹⁵ Annadown, Aghadoe, TEMPLE FINAN, Kells, ¹⁶ O'Rorke's Tower, ARDMORE, ¹⁷ Disert O'Dea.	Fourth Style.	Timahoe, 96 ft. by 60 ft. Temple Finan, 56 ft. by 49 ft. Ardmore, 98 ft. by 52 ft.	Regular radiating round arch of six or more stones, with architrave, or fine ex- amples of the decorated Irish Romanesque of the 12th century.	Same form as before, of sandstone cut and squared.

² *Roscrea*. A ship and an interlaced ornament incised on this doorway.¹⁰ *Kildare*. Inserted Romanesque doorway.¹¹ *Cashel*. Door ornamented with incised architrave.¹² *Monasterboice*. Double architrave runs round doorway; moulding in relief.¹³ *Devenish*. A rich cornice moulding runs round the top, and the doorway is ornamented with architrave.¹⁴ *Disert-Aengus*. Doorway ornamented with roll and pellet mouldings; architrave in triple band.¹⁵ *Timahoe*. Doorway richly sculptured Irish Romanesque.¹⁶ *Kells* is rubble work, chiefly sandstone, but some limestone used; carved heads on doorway, and five windows on upper story.¹⁷ *Ardmore*. Roll mouldings round doorway and external bands to mark stories and moulded heads as brackets inside.

Conclusions to be drawn from the above table :—

I. That these towers were built after the Irish became acquainted with the use of cement and the hammer.

II. That the towers were built at or about the period of transition from the Entablature style of the early Irish period to that of the round arched decorated Irish Romanesque.

III. That the largest number of these towers were built before this transition had been established and while the Irish builders were feeling their way to the arch.

IV. That as this transition took place between the time of Cormac O'Killen and Brian Boruma, i.e. between 900, and 1000, the first groups of towers belong to the first date.

Any effort to classify them according to such changes is replete with difficulty. There are three towers, each of which exhibit the extreme styles, ashlar and rubble masonry occurring simultaneously in their walls—Kells, Drumlane, and O'Rorke's tower at Clonmacnois; and it cannot be said that here the rudest masonry is the oldest, for in two instances the ashlar masonry is at the lower part of the tower and the rubble above it; but such cases are exceptional and very rare. In Devenish, which is carefully and strongly built of cut stone, but little cement is used. In most instances the stones though more or less roughly worked are laid in horizontal courses.¹ The towers of Killossy, Dysart O'Dea, and Ardmore are the only ones existing which show string courses outside marking the stories inside. The average height of these buildings is from 100 to 120 ft. and the circumference 50 ft. Two towers, those of Turlough and Dromiskin, are therefore exceptional in character, and though of rude masonry are probably of a late date. Here the walls are 5 ft. thick, and there is only 13 ft. difference between the circumference and height of Turlough, while Dromiskin is 66 ft. in circumference and only 35 ft. in height.

The average thickness of wall at the basement in the whole 72 towers is from 3 ft., 6 in. to 4 feet, there being 40 towers out of the 72 which have walls of this thickness and the others only vary a few inches more or less. The average diameter at the level of the doorway is from 7 to 9 ft. internally. Some are unusually broad, as Oran, which is 11 ft. across, Dysert O'Dea, 10 ft. 2 in., and Kildare 9 ft. 3 in. These towers taper and the walls diminish in thickness towards the top. All their apertures have inclined sides, being on an average 2 in. wider at the base than at the top. The doorways of the earliest towers have horizontal lintels, and vary in size from 4 ft. 8 in. high by 1 ft. 11 in. wide,—6 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in.,—5 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 10 in.,—5 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft.,—5 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. The highest doorway, that of Lusk, is also the narrowest, so there appears to have been no very regular proportion observed between the width and the height of the doorway. The height of these apertures from the level of the ground is generally 13 ft. That of Scatterry is on the ground level, Lusk four feet above, and the others 8 ft. 11 ft., and 13 ft. above. The doorways always face the entrance of the church to which

¹ See the History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, by the Revd. James Graves, and J. G. A. Prim, pp. 114 to 122.

they belong, unless in those instances where the church is evidently much later in date than the tower.

In the doorways of Killree and Kilmacduach belfries, the arch is cut out of one stone, while that of Aghaviller is a good instance of the first approximation to the radiating arch with the architrave. The number of windows varied according to the number of stories in the tower. There are almost always four placed at opposite sides in the top story, and generally so as to face the four cardinal points of the compass.¹ In form these were long and narrow, either triangular headed, or with horizontal lintel and inclined sides, measuring 2 ft. high by 1 ft. broad. In a very few instances are they round-headed. One of these apertures is found in each story, and they are rude or finished, in accordance with the general style of the building in which they occur. The most curious point about the windows in the other stories is that they were invariably within one or two feet of the floors.¹ Sculptured ornament is found on the apertures or on the walls of fifteen of these towers, the most common decoration being, as is the case with the early churches, the architrave band, such as is seen at Aghavuller, Donoughmore, Drumcleve, Cashel, Monasterboice, Disert Aengus, Devenish, and Kells; the Crucifixion is rudely sculptured over the doorway of the tower of Teachdoe, and in some cases, as at Kells and Donoughmore, heads are carved at the springing of the arch in the rounded doorway. The cross within the circle is sculptured in relief over the doorway of Antrim tower, while the corbels which support the floors are carved at Roscrea and Ardmore, and a string course runs round under the conical roof of Devenish tower, decorated with pellets, human heads, and scrolls, while the doorways of Timahoe and Kildare towers are rich examples of Irish ornamented Romanesque.

It will be observed that those towers which merely exhibit a simple incised architrave line or cross belong to the two first styles, and that all sculpture in relief and undercut is confined to those buildings of the finer masonry of the third and fourth style. Incised ornament is common on the pillar stones and sepulchral slabs of Ireland in the ninth century, but it is difficult to prove the existence of the later work, even on sepulchral monuments, till the period ranging from A. D. 923 to 1200.

Internally these towers were divided into six or seven stories; the floors, which were of wood, were supported in one of three different methods. The beams either rested on projecting abutments in the walls, or there were holes for the joists; or, thirdly, corbels or brackets supported the floors, sometimes richly decorated, as at Ardmore. Stone floors may be seen in the lower stories of Meelick and Kinneth. That of Meelick is a very flat arch resting on the first offset in the wall; that of Kinneth is quite level and ingeniously constructed of slate flags; both floors have a well-hole in the centre. The three sections of the tower of Disert-Aengus, given at page 23 of this volume, show the interior arrangements of such buildings.

In the third or middle story of many of these towers, stones are seen to project like brackets from the wall, and one such in Lusk is in the form of a large rude hook. These

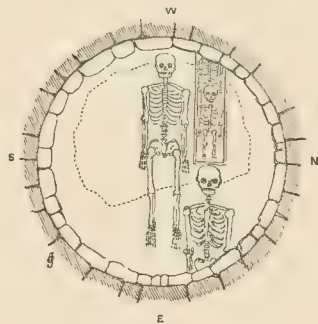
¹ There are only two in the top of Temple Finghin belfry, which also differs from the others in being only 56 ft. in height, and there are five in the upper story of Kells and six in that of Kilkenny.

appliances were probably meant for hanging book-satchels or other valuables of the monastery from, and this chamber may have been that specially devoted to the safe-keeping of the church valuables in troublous times.

The position of these towers was almost invariably about 20 ft. to the north-west end of the church, and they were so placed as to command the entrance to the church, and so that missiles could be let fall on the heads of any parties attacking that building.¹

One of the most important discoveries achieved since Dr. Petrie published his investigations is that described by the Rev. James Graves, as the result of the excavation made by him and the Dean of Ossory, in the year 1847, at the base of the round tower of Kilkenny. From the facts then observed, it can be clearly proved that the belfry was erected on a piece of ground that had been used as a Christian cemetery for a period of time long preceding that of the foundation of the tower. The first or upper stratum, which was 2 ft. 8 in. in thickness, consisted of matter formed from the accumulation of rubbish that had fallen from the top, or been thrown from time to time into the tower. The second, which was about 18 in. thick, was composed of calcined clay containing fragments of burned human and other bones, and of charcoal in large masses and scattered pieces; the lower part of the stratum was made up of rich loam, mixed with some calcined clay, small portions of burned and unburned bones

and charcoal—these things all bearing evidence of some great fire at a period nearer that of the erection of the tower. The third stratum, 1 ft. 7 in. in thickness, was composed of rich black earth with fragments of human and animal bones, and spalds of the dolomite partially used in the construction of the tower. When this last deposit was cleared away, a pavement was reached on a level with the external base course. The pavement, which is marked in the annexed diagram by dotted lines, did not form a complete floor to the tower. On raising it and continuing the excavation carefully, the group of skeletons as represented in the diagram was found, with the remains of the timber coffin in



which the children's bodies had been laid. All these bodies lay beneath the level of the foundation of the tower, and portions of the coffin and two other bodies extended beyond the circle of the building, which had evidently been raised above the ground

¹ Referring to the position of these towers Lingard remarks, "If I may be allowed a conjecture on a subject which has exercised the ingenuity of many writers, I conceive such towers to have been originally built at a short distance from the church that the walls might not be endangered by their weight; and that they were not considered merely as an ornament, but used as beacons to direct the traveller towards the church or monastery. Lights were kept burning in them during the night, at least, such was the fact with respect to the new tower at Winchester, which we learn from Wolstan consisted of five stories, in each of which were four windows, illuminated every night, looking towards the four cardinal points. Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Churches*, vol. ii. p. 379.

which covered them, and without knowledge or thought of the forms that lay below. That these were the forms of Christians is rendered probable by the position of the skeletons, lying east and west, for it is held that the Pagan Irish on their conversion to Christianity made a change in their mode of burial, as it is said in the *Lebar na huidre*, Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland, "the third person who had believed, in Erin, before the arrival of St. Patrick," told his people to bury him *with his face to the east*.

The church of St. Canice, originally founded in the seventh century, was probably the nucleus of a cemetery which, like Clonmacnois, remained from that period in constant use, and the tower cannot have belonged to this very early period, inasmuch as several centuries must have elapsed before the soil of the cemetery could assume the character it presented beneath the foundation of the building, of a soil "that had for ages been made fat by fresh accessions of the mortal remains of poor humanity."

In the year 1085 we read that "Ceall-Cairnigh was for the most part burned." Mr. Graves suggests that the edifice then partially destroyed may have been a timber structure, and that it was soon rebuilt, as appears by the record of a second conflagration seventy-one years later. It is very probable that on the rebuilding of the church this protecting tower was erected, and that the conflagration, signs of which were discovered in the excavations, was that fire recorded by the annalists in 1114, when its timber floors, together with the human beings then within its walls, were consumed.

Another fact which ought not to be passed over with regard to this tower is that it, along with Monasterboice and Kilmacduach, bears evidence that the builders were not careful to secure a firm foundation for the ponderous mass they were about to erect; and just at that point where the lower extremities of one of the skeletons are concealed by the foundation of the tower, the summit of the structure overhangs its base about two inches. This proves a considerable subsidence, as Mr. Graves remarks, "when a wall originally built to a batter of twenty-six inches leans over its base even to the small extent of two inches." The tower built over a cemetery subsided at the point of least resistance afforded by the substratum, *i. e.*, over the spot left vacant by the natural decay of the human form beneath.

The fact that most if not all of these towers were erected in cemeteries which had been previously used for Christian interments, and in places where Christianity had been already established, seems borne out by much collateral evidence of the same nature.¹ The tower does not always appear to have been built by the same hands as the church. The churches and little oratories in Aran bear marks of much greater antiquity than the stump of the round tower near Killenda, built in regular courses of well-rounded stones. The Christian epitaphs which may be held to be cotemporaneous with the architecture of the primitive period, such as are found in Kerry, partly in Ogham and partly in a rude Roman character, all witness to an earlier and ruder Christian period than that in which such towers could be erected. Fourthly, the tower is placed to

¹ When the tower of Down was thrown to the ground and cleared away to its foundation, the vestiges of a more ancient building, probably the original church, were found beneath it, running directly across its site, so that the tower was evidently not coeval with the first Christian edifice.

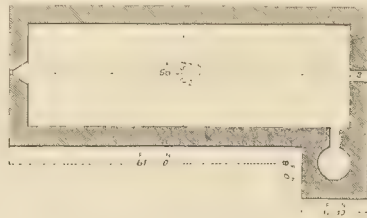
the north or north-west of the church, from respect to the wish which is even now generally entertained by the Irish to be buried to the east or south. The cases of the three leaning towers of Ireland, Monasterboice, Kilmacduach, and Kilkenny, may point to another inference besides that of their erection in a soil long softened by interments. It appears almost incredible that masons so skilful as those who raised these particular



CHURCH ON IRELAND'S EYE.

towers should have been so ignorant as to base their ponderous mass on such an insecure foundation. May it not be explained by the fact that they were not in this instance working with that forethought which is the offspring of experience and the slow growth of native effort, but that tower-building was a new art to them?

Whatever doubt may still linger in some unreasoning minds regarding the connection



GROUND PLAN OF TAMLAGHT FINLAGAN.

between the *detached* towers and the church, we hardly think they will still deny an ecclesiastical character to those which are attached to and evidently coeval with these buildings. The date of such towers was held by Dr. Petrie to be little anterior to the twelfth century. Nine of these structures have been found in Ireland, and two in the Orkneys. Of the history of the erection of these buildings nothing is known, excepting of the two last, which, to judge from the architectural features of the two churches

to which they belong, certainly appear also to be the two latest. Their names are given in the following list in the chronological order which we imagine they should assume.

1. St. Kevin's, Glendalough, Co. Wicklow.¹
2. Trinity Church, Glendalough, Co. Wicklow.²



KILLOSSY.

3. Church on Ireland's Eye, Howth, Co. Dublin.
4. Tamlaght Finlagen, Newtown Limavady, Co. Londonderry.
5. Temple Finan, 1100, Clonmacnois, King's County.³



ST. MICHAEL LE POLE.

6. Dungiven, 1100, Keenaght, Co. Londonderry.
7. Killossy, near Naas, Co. Kildare.
8. Trummery, Co. Antrim.
9. St. Michael le Pole, Dublin.

¹ See Vol. I. Plate LXXXVIII.

² Vol. I. p. 99.

³ Vol. II. Plates LXXXIX. and XC.

The belfry appears to be coeval with its church in every instance. In two instances, the first and last on our list, the tower springs from the roof of the church. In the other cases it rises from a square base about 15 ft. in height. In the church on Ireland's Eye, it was placed at the east end of the building, and the square basement story formed the little chancel of the church. It was 42 ft. in circumference, and probably 60 ft. high. The tower of Trummery church was also at the east end, and was entered from the corner of the church through a low narrow archway. The tower of Temple Finan at Clonmacnois was also entered from the chancel. The other three towers on our list are at the south-west corner, or west end of the church. Dressed stone and Romanesque ornament are found in the apertures of the other structures, and even the oldest of these, that of St. Kevin's at Glendalough, was built after the introduction of the regular arch, an example of which may be seen over the west doorway of the church.

The date of Temple Finan at Clonmacnois is still uncertain, but the church of Dungiven appears to have been founded by O'Cahan in the beginning of the twelfth century, as we learn from the following entry in the History of Irish Monastic Foundations by Allemande, an Augustinian friar, quoted by Archdall (*Monast.* p. 92) :—

"A. D. 1100. O'Cahan, Prince of the country, founded a priory here for canons regular following the rule of St. Augustin."

There can be no doubt of the tower and church being coeval, and we may believe their age to be that which is assigned to them by our Annals, that of 1110; the beauty of the masonry, the way in which every stone of the edifice is squared with the chisel, the general form of the structure, the small round-headed Romanesque doorway, the choir arch, and the narrow angular-headed windows of the choir all belong to that age. The larger windows of the nave are a more modern introduction, their style being that of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. They were probably built in 1397, when the church, having been polluted by the effusion of Christian blood, was solemnly restored by the Archbishop of Armagh.

A number of towers still exist, or are known to have existed, in other places besides Ireland, which bear more or less resemblance to those of this country. They are high, slender, and circular, with pointed roofs, and occasionally built of brick. The examples of such on the Continent which may be here mentioned are, the tower of Dinkelsbühl in Bavaria, the belfries of San Nicolo at Pisa, San Paternian at Venice, six belfries at Ravenna, one at Scheness in Switzerland, two at the church of St. Thomas in Strasburg, two at Gernrode in the Hartz, two at Nivelles, and two at Notre Dame de Maestricht in Belgium. In Scotland such round belfries occur at Brechin, at St. Brigid's church at Abernethy, St. Magnus's in Egilsha; and till a late period two such towers were standing at Deerness in the Orkneys, and three in the Shetland Isles; St. Lawrence's church in West Burra, St. Magnus's at Tingwall, and another at Ireland Head; while one has been described in Stremoe, one of the Faroe Islands, and the tower near St. Patrick's church in the Isle of Man is another. The first on this list of fifteen foreign round towers is not ecclesiastical. It has been described by Mr. F. W. Burton in a letter to Dr. Petrie as one of several round towers which with some square turrets strengthen the walls of Dinkelsbühl. This tower is about 120 ft. in height, and divided into four stories, the lower springing from a plinth which now rises 4 or 5 ft. from the ground.

The original doorway is 20 or 25 ft. above the ground. The upper story appears to be more modern than the remainder of the tower. Other towers of a similar character may be seen along the Main, and such examples are valuable, as showing the earliest type of defensive or protective tower in Europe.

In the library of St. Gall,¹ near Lake Constance in Switzerland, a plan on parchment is still preserved of this monastery, where the two circular towers of St. Michael and St. Gabriel are represented standing at the west end of the church, and equi-distant from the semicircular atrium; and Professor Willis, quoting from the inscriptions on this ancient plan, held to be the work of Eginhard, observes that the "ascent to the summit of the towers and to their chapels was (as is also shown in the drawing) by a winding² staircase, and that the whole building could be overlooked from them, '*ascensus per cocleam, ad universa super inspicienda.*' Campaniles or bell-towers, as is known, had not been brought into frequent use in the construction of churches very long before this plan was made—perhaps first under the reign of Charlemagne."³ The same writer alludes to a floral ornament in the plan, which is also often seen in manuscripts of the ninth century, and which Lord Dunraven suggests may indicate the ornamental finial of the conical roof. Referring to the circular belfries which he examined at Ravenna, Lord Dunraven relates that he there observed six round campanili belonging to churches founded in the 5th and 6th centuries, one of which, that of San Giovanni Battista, is here illustrated. "It is attached to the north-west corner of the aisle, which is, however, of a much later date than the tower. There are four windows in each tier. The internal diameter at the bottom is 10 ft., and the height of the tower by estimation about 100 ft. The base is hidden in the sketch by the modern façade of the church. This church is said to have been built by the Empress Galla Placidia in the year 438, and consecrated by S. Peter Chrysologus. The conical roof is of shingles. The campanile of S. Apollinare in Classis is the finest at Ravenna. It stands on the north-east side of the church, from which it is 26 ft. distant. The wall is 6 ft. 6 in. thick, and the internal diameter of the tower 19 ft. Its height I should judge by estimation to be from 140 to 150 ft.

"Circular campaniles are said to exist in the northern parts of Lombardy, among the secluded Alpine valleys, but I was not fortunate enough to find any of them."³ "Several



DINKELSBÜHL.



SAN GIOVANNI BATTISTA.

¹ Bauriss des Klosters St. Gallen vom Jahr 820, Ferdinand Keller, Zürich, 1844.

² According to Ferdinand Keller, these towers were divided into stories. A separate stair or ladder probably led to each story.—ED.

³ Archaeological Journal, vol. v. p. 85.

of the Italian campanili offer peculiarities of shape. The one attached to the church of S. Giovanni e Paulo, at Ravenna, is rectangular in the lower half, and round in the upper. The internal diameter of the rectangular part is 5 ft. by 3 ft. 9 in.; of the circular part, 5 ft. 1 in. The height by estimation may be between 70 and 75 ft. At Venice I found, connected with the church of S. Paternian a very curious campanile, externally an irregular hexagon, internally round; the internal diameter is about 8 ft. The campanile of the Benedictine abbey of S. Nicholo, at Pisa, of the thirteenth century, has the lower story circular, the next two octagonal, and the fourth or upper story hexagonal."¹

Two brick towers of St. Thomas's church at Strasburg rise at each side of the apse, which itself resembles a lofty polygonal tower; one is merely a stair turret,² and still contains the spiral stone staircase, but in the other no trace of a staircase can be seen. At Gernrode the circular towers are at the corners of the west end of the church, a building



ST. MAURICE, EPINAL.

said to have been founded A.D. 960.³ The tower of St. Gertrude, at Nivelles, stands at the south-west end of the church, founded in the beginning of the eleventh century and dedicated in 1045, the Emperor Henry IV. assisting at the ceremony. The stories of this tower are marked by external bands, as at that of Ardmore.⁴

The tower of Epinal, represented in the accompanying woodcut, taken from a sketch made by Samuel Ferguson Esq., is attached to the church of St. Maurice, at Epinal, in Lorraine.

¹ See Memorials of Adare by the Earl of Dunraven, p. 222. Dictionary of Architecture, E. J. Anson, issued by the Architectural Publication Society, art. Campanile. Statique monumentale de Paris, A. Lenoir, Plate VII. Mellin, Monuments françaises, vol. v. p. 57.

² At the ancient church of Hythe in Kent there is a stair turret very similar in form to the Irish round tower, though of smaller dimensions. See Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. iii. p. 27.

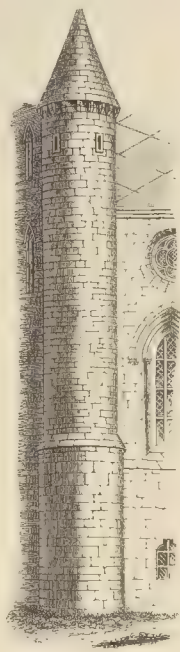
³ See Hist. of Architecture, Ferguson, vol. i. p. 569.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 539.

The details of this interesting church and tower have been described in a letter to Mr. Ferguson from Monsieur Carro, and another from Mr. Parker of Oxford to Lord Dunraven.¹ The nave and transepts date from the tenth century. At the end of each transept is a circular tower, that on the north side partly ruined. It is built of small stones with wide joints of mortar, with probably only about one-half of its original height standing; it is 10 ft. in internal diameter, and the walls are about 3 ft. thick. The southern, which was rebuilt in the thirteenth century, is about 112 ft. in height, and nearly 7 ft. in internal diameter, the walls being 3 ft. 6 in. in thickness.² It is formed of large squared stones of regular masonry, and is built up against the end wall of the transept. A winding staircase extends to the height of about 50 ft. In the old tower the stairs appear to have reached higher. The windows of the southern towers are square-headed and small. The door is on the level of the ground, the entrance being from the transept.

In the eleventh century we find a great effort was made to rebuild the monasteries in France; preserving the church only as a consecrated place, they raised new cloisters, etc., and monastic architecture began to assume a more civil than ecclesiastical character. At this period the abbey of St. Geneviève was rebuilt. The choir belongs to the earliest years of the 12th century, and the round tower stood at the south-west corner.³

The author of "The Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in Scotland" describes the towers in the following words:—"In spite of its few plain features, flatness, and hardness of outline, there is much of picturesque character in the Scoto-Romanesque church tower. In general expression, however, it conveys the idea of a fortification—which, in some cases, it probably was—rather than that of a campanile." The prevailing type, we are informed by the same writer, is that of a square building, rising to about 100 ft., tall and narrow, and ending in a steep saddle-backed roof. This description exactly corresponds with the ancient square belfry of the church on Iniscloran, in Lough Ree, County of Galway, and with that of Mungret; but there are four examples of the



ST. GENEVIÈVE.

¹ See Memorials of Adare, pp. 222, 225.

² Nothing now remains of this tower except the base. See Viollet-Je-Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture française*, vol. i. p. 283, note 2. See *Statique monumentale de Paris*. Atlas, Tome Premier. Époque Chrétienne, Abbaye de Sainte Geneviève, pl. vii. In plate ii. fig. viii., representing sarcophagi found in this abbey, a fragment of interlaced moulding may be seen with that peculiar horseshoe pattern which is seen on the roof of the temple as represented in the Book of Kells. Again, an interlaced band runs along the abacus of one of the capitals in the choir, see pl. xiii. In the plan of the abbey of St. Germain des Prés made in the middle of the 16th century, such circular towers with conical roofs and square or triangular-headed apertures are represented (Lenoir, vol i.). This abbey was rebuilt early in the eleventh century, preserving the nave; a new monastery was constructed by a lay architect, Pierre de Montereau.

cylindrical detached tower, with conical roof, perfectly similar to the Irish belfries. Two are on the mainland—Brechin, in Forfarshire, and Abernethy, in Perthshire. They are perfectly Irish in form, dimensions, and internal arrangements. The masonry of the basement of Brechin resembles that of the belfries of Kilmacduach and Killala, while above it is spawled like that of Cloyne. All the apertures are perfectly Irish in character, except the doorway, which, though round-headed and with inclined sides, yet varies from the Irish decorated Romanesque doorways in many important points. It does not consist of several orders, as the doorways of Timahoe and Kildare belfries, but all the ornament, formed of raised figures and pellet mouldings, is external, and on the face of the wall.¹ This tower² was



MUNGRET.

used as a belfry in the year 1776, when Pennant describes the "two handsome bells" then hanging in it. The belfry at Abernethy belonged to the church founded by St. Nechtan, and dedicated to the memory of St. Bridget. This building appears to be of two dates, the upper story being late Norman, while below the character of the masonry and apertures, seems to be that of a much ruder period. The doorway is round-headed, the arch being scooped out of a single stone, and its sides incline.

The church of Deerness, in Orkney, had two cylindrical towers, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. The church was divided into nave and chancel, the latter being vaulted. A doorway opened from the chancel on a spiral staircase, leading to a small

¹ See Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii. Plate I.

² The following note is extracted from some memoranda found among Dr. Petrie's papers:—"Henry de Lichton, Vicar of Tethnot, had delivered to Patrick, Bishop of Brechin (1354-84), a large white horse, and had also given a cart and horse to carry stones to the building of the belfry of the church of Brechin, in the time of Bishop Patrick, and which cart was brought by Elias Wright, then residing at Finhaven."

apartment between the towers on the second story, from which was the entrance to the second tower. Tradition states that bells were hung in these towers, but is silent as to the name or date of the builder or founder of the church.¹

The church of St. Magnus in Egilsha is dedicated to and was in all probability



DEERNES.



ST. MAGNUS.

founded by St. Magnus, who first visited this island in the year 1098. He is said² to have been murdered by the followers of his cousin, Haco, and buried in this church first about the year 1136, then afterwards his bones were removed by his mother, Thora, to Birsa, and finally to Kirkwall. We may conclude that the date of the erection of this

¹ Dr. Hibbert remarks, in a letter to Dr. Petrie:—"I was grievously disappointed to find, on visiting Deerness, A.D. 1832, that the proprietor of the land had levelled the whole of the ancient structure to the ground, and thus no memorial remains but the drawing in my possession; and the length of the foundation of the church (from W. to E.), as far as the steeples, appeared to me about 13 yards long. The breadth across at the east end, including the diameters of the two towers, appeared to be about 18 yards (paces), the space intermediate to the two towers not being above 2 yards wide, but these measurements were made with difficulty. The natives described the church as once having had a thatched roof upon it. It was built of very hard lime. I estimated the inside diameter of one of the towers at about 6 feet."

² See Hibbert's Shetland. See *The Orkneying Saga*, J. Anderson, Ed. Introd. p. c. Low's *Tour through Orkney and Zetland*. MS. in possession of David Laing. Article on *The Twin-Towered Churches of Denmark*, by J. Komerup, in the *Aarboger for Nordisk Old Kindighed*, for 1869, p. 13. *Orkneying Saga* Torpeus. Barry's *Orkney*, p. 151. Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, Plate II. p. 161. *Proceedings Soc. Antiqs. Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 188. Black's *History of Brechin*. *Characteristics of Scottish Architecture*, p. 24.

building is somewhere between the years 1098 and 1136. This church has a belfry attached to it, and belongs to that class of which eleven examples have been described as existing in Ireland, although only four now remain in good preservation, and the church to which it is attached appears to bear a strong resemblance to St. Kevin's church, at Glendalough, with no regularly built radiating chancel arch, but a little barrel-vaulted chancel, roofed with stone externally.



ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, ISLE OF MAN.

The belfry of St. Patrick's church, in the Isle of Man,¹ is also a tower of the same type as the Irish detached round tower, although its character is now altered by a modern castellated top, which replaces the conical roof, and a flight of stone stairs leading up to the doorway. It is situated opposite the west end of the church of St. Patrick, whose door looks towards it. This church

is nearly destroyed, although parts of the side walls stand. There are no remains of doors or windows; some of the courses of masonry in the walls are herring-bone.²

At the first glance it may seem that the examples of foreign towers brought forward in this chapter do not sufficiently resemble those of Ireland to justify the idea of there being any connection in style between the two. These foreign towers are tall and slender. To the eye accustomed to consider the mere aspect of the solitary Irish bell-house there seems to be nothing in Italy, in England, or even in Germany, to compare with the height and slenderness of the Irish towers. This is quite true, but only as regards the aspect of these buildings. Place the towers of Ravenna, or that of S. Maurice at Epinal, in a country where the average height of the churches is from twenty-five to thirty feet, and set the towers to stand, not against, but apart from, such buildings, and their aspect will be much the same. It is not in its size or form that the Irish tower is so singular, but in its isolation. The continental towers here spoken of are all of an early date. The oldest—those at Ravenna—are all, in Mr. Freeman's opinion,³ later than the time of Charlemagne. The others belong to a period close upon the Carolingian era, and are among the very few

¹ See *Architectural Journal*, 1848. Petit.

² There are ecclesiastical round towers in parts of England, such as that of the church of Tasburgh, and at Keswick, and South Ockenden, but they are not of a similar type to those of Ireland. See Mr. Hudson Gurney, *English Round Towers*. Lingard, speaking of the first belfries in England, remarks:—"I conceive that originally the towers were distinct from the churches, like the celebrated round towers that are still remaining in Ireland. Thus a tower had been erected before the western entrance of the old church at Winchester, as we learn from Wolstan:—

"Turre erat rostrata tholis quia maxima quædam
Illius ante sacri pulcherrima limina templi," etc.

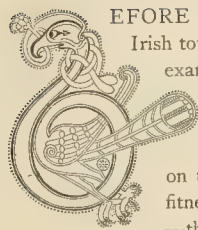
Act. SS. Ben. vol. ii., Pl. 70.

³ There seems to be no evidence that the churches now standing at Ravenna are the original work of this early period. Mr. Freeman observes: "The Ravenna towers have a rougher and earlier look than the square towers, but this may partly be owing to their shape, partly to the practice of blocking up most of their windows. Their date is uncertain; but they are later than the days of Charles the Great. The local writer Agnellus, writing soon after his time, describes the churches of Ravenna nearly as they still are; but he says not a word about bell towers." See *Historical and Architectural Sketches*, p. 51.

examples still left of French and German architecture before the eleventh century. May not such scattered instances still standing on the Continent—may not such towers as those of Ravenna, Uzès, Worms, Strasburg, Belgium, and Lorraine—be held to mark the path by which the form found its way to Ireland after the year 800?

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGIN AND USE OF IRISH CHURCH TOWERS.



BEFORE entering into the question of the probable origin and date of these Irish towers it was thought desirable to offer the foregoing sketch of such examples as still exist of similar buildings in other countries, and it is now most necessary to arrive at some decision as to the primary purpose for which they were built—whatever may have been the uses to which they were afterwards applied, whether in Ireland, or on the Continent. The nobility of a building depends on "its special fitness for its own purposes."¹ The ordinary Romanesque campanile—the main object of which is to lift a sonorous signal on high, in order that it may be heard afar, is a simple shaft, and when the necessary height is reached the belfry is left open at the sides, with a roof supported by pillars and arches, and an unbroken winding staircase inside leading up to the place in which the bells were hung. The ecclesiastical round towers of Ravenna and Ireland varied from such in one or two important points, which gives them a defensive character. They were divided into a series of chambers or stories—as in the case of the military towers of Dinkelsbühl, and the apertures at the top were barely large enough to supply free egress for the sound of a good-sized bell. Viewed as simple belfries, and no more, they would appear as poor conceptions and failures in design; but the dignity of their aspect forbids the suspicion of incompetency in their builders. It has been well said that the tower "is in its origin a building for strength of defence and faithfulness of watch rather than splendour of aspect; its true expression is of just so much diminution of weight upwards as may be necessary to its fully balanced strength."

With that insight which is alone the defining mark of genius the writer of this passage perceives and declares the original meaning and intention of the first lofty towers of Europe, and the ecclesiastical towers of Ireland preserve an early type of such,² almost extinct elsewhere—in the same way as her angular churches preserve the memory of some

¹ *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. pp. 194, 199.

² "Turres vocatæ, quod teretes sint et longæ: teres enim est aliquid rotundum cum proceritate, ut columnæ."—Isidor. Orig. lib. xv. ch. 2.

type anterior to the basilica.¹ The first intention of the Irish tower was for "strength of defence and faithfulness of watch." Bells, small as those which are left to us still, were deposited in them, and they were termed bell-houses, or places for the housing of bells. Then, when after the twelfth century, bells of greater size and deeper tone were founded, the art of building belfries in Italy and France developed also. The bell to be heard afar should be hung on high, and the chamber at the summit of the tower in which it was placed should be open at each side; thus the noble campanile of Venice, or that of Pisa, was developed. Such development was checked in the twelfth century in Ireland. The central tower of the Cistercian or Franciscan church introduced while this early type was still the custom of the country, was a second, new, and foreign importation, never stamped by a native Irish school, which soon after ceased to exist.

The name by which these towers are usually distinguished by the annalists is *Cloicthech*, signifying bell-house, with its cognate Welsh *clochdy*. The English word belfry, the old French *berfroï*, and this from the Middle High German *bercorit*, meant a movable tower, and was applied to a piece of carpentry destined for military uses; these terms have not always been confined to bell towers in France or elsewhere. It is stated by M. Viollet-le-Duc, that "Les tours roulantes de bois destinées à l'attaque des places fortes pendant le moyen âge, et jusqu'à l'emploi de l'artillerie à feu, sont aussi nommées *beffrois* ou *bretèches*."²

The origin, half-military, half-ecclesiastic, of our round towers, seems to be conveyed in this word belfry. It is difficult to believe that the first great towers near the churches of Ravenna and Ireland were merely, or even primarily, intended for hanging bells at their summits. Even could the existence of very large bells at so early a period as the Carolingian era be proved, the towers themselves of Ravenna and Epinal, as well as those in Ireland, are not so constructed as to show that their primary object was for the emission of sound, or its transmission over a very wide tract of country. The apertures at the top are much too small. But the bells of the eleventh century, both on the Continent and in Ireland, were generally small, and light. Only after the year 1200 did they begin to make them of any great size; yet, notwithstanding the diminutive nature of the bells from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, it appears that the belfries were quite equal, both in height and diameter, to those of a later period, and their purpose must have been independent of the use of a sonorous signal, however they may have served for the safe-keeping of those objects always held among the most sacred treasures of the churches, and preserved with the crosier and the shrine in these keeps of the monastery.³

¹ Mr. Fergusson, speaking of the ground plan of the Monastery of St. Gall, published by Mabillon, and held by him to have been the work of Eginhard, in the reign of Charlemagne, draws attention to the fact that in the text which accompanies it no mention is made of bells in connection with the towers which stand at either side of the entrance to the church, but rather that the writer intimates that the towers were designed for watch-towers.—*See Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 564.

² *Bretèche*, s. f. On désignait ainsi, au moyen âge, un ouvrage de bois à plusieurs étages, crénelé, dont on se servait pour attaquer et défendre les places fortes. Quand il s'agit de l'attaque, la bretèche diffère du beffroi en ce qu'elle est immobile, tandis que le beffroi est mobile.—*Dict.* vol. ii. p. 186.

³ "Græci multò recentius à Veneto acceperunt, qui (ut tradit Sabellicus) Ænead. 9. lib. 1 circa AN. DOM. 874.

The especial sacredness attached to bells was not peculiar to Ireland.¹ They were set apart from all secular uses, and blessed or consecrated, and that the custom even of baptizing bells existed in the eighth century is proved by the fact that Charlemagne issued an express injunction against it.²

Fig. 1.



CAPITAL IN CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE DE BOCHERVILLE.

Bell-ringing in the tenth century appears to have been practised in two different ways, one being the mere use of the signal bell of the handbell-ringer; the other, the art of the

Basilio Imperatori duodenas magni ponderis, artificique non vulgaris dono misit campanas; suntque Venatorum munere tum primum Græci campana ære usi.—Spelman, Glossar. p. 98. When the Abbot Agilulfus rebuilt the church of St. Columbanus, at Bobbio, between the years 883 and 905, he is described as placing bells in the tower: "Ipsam denique eandem Ecclesiam venerabilis Abbas Agilulfus ex lapidibus struxit, turrimque super eam ædificavit, et campanas in ea fecit pendere, sicut nunc cernitur."—Fleming, *Collectanea Sacra*, p. 245.—Messingham, *Florilegium*, p. 240.

¹ Mr. Brereton, writing in the year 1763, states that Bishop Pocock had seen a large trumpet of iron, which was dug from the bottom of one of these towers, and adds that "several such have been found in Ireland, near these buildings; some of them are exhibited in one of the plates published by this Society, and others are now extant in the Royal Museum." If this statement be correct, this would point to their occasional use as watch-towers, but the editor has not yet succeeded in finding any confirmation of this statement.—See *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 82. In the pontificate of Stephen, A. D. 754, Christian congregations are said to have been collected by the sound of trumpets:—

"Ære tubas fuso attollit, quibus agmina plebis,
Admoneat laudes, et vota referre tonanti."—Flodoard in Stephen II.

However, his successor, Stephen III., about 780, erected a tower on the church of St. Peter at Rome, and placed in it three bells; and in 850, Leo IV. built a belfry, and set in it a bell with a golden hammer.—Anastasius in Steph. III., and Leon. IV. "Fecit etiam ibi ipsum campanile, et posuit campanam cum malleo aureo."—Spelman, Glossar. p. 98.

² "Etsi Capitularia Caroli Magni anno 789 edita n. 18, jubeant ut *clocca non baptisentur*, antiquus tamen

carillon player, which implied a knowledge of music, and the exercise of the player's talent on a series of bells tuned to different notes, which could form an harmonious accompaniment to the harp or rote.

In illustration of this usage, a representation may be seen on the capital of a column in the church of St. George de Bocherville, Normandy, founded by William the Conqueror,¹ (fig. 1), and in fig. 2, taken from an ancient psalter in the British Museum,² King David is

Fig. 2.



KING DAVID IN MS. PSALTER.

Fig. 3.



FEMALE BELL-RINGER IN ILLUMINATED MS.

represented playing on five bells with a hammer in each hand, while in fig. 3, taken from a MS. in the Royal Library at Brussels, a female figure is seen seated, and striking four bells in a like manner.³

The bells preserved in the Irish belfries, such as those referred to in the tower of Armagh at the date 1020, may have been a group of such objects slung in a row from a bar in the upper chamber of the tower, in some such manner as we see illustrated in the illuminated MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus in fig. 4, taken from a MS. of St. Blaise, A.D. 800 to 900, five of these bells are suspended in a row and struck by a hammer⁴ held in the hand; the bar is placed across a round arch springing from shafts crowned

usus ecclesie obtinuit, ut signorum seu campanarum benedictio baptismi nomine indigitetur." (Martene, *Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, tom. ii. p. 296 *b.*) The distinction marked in this passage between *cloccæ* and *campanæ*, while it must point to a difference in size, need not convey that any bell so large as those we now associate with belfries was intended, but only such variety as the examples which remain to us of these early bells shows to have prevailed.

¹ See Turner's *Tour in Normandy*, vol. ii. p. 13.

² In *King's Library*, British Museum, 20, B. xi.

³ See Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Devon*, p. 306. On the west side of the south-east cross of Monasterboice, a figure is seen bending, as if to strike a bell with a hammer.—O'Neil, *Irish Crosses*, Pl. 19. And in one compartment of an ancient sculptured cross at Kilcullen, which stands to the north of the round tower, the figure of an ecclesiastic may be seen raising a hammer to strike the bell which hangs before him.

⁴ *De Cantu et musica sacra a Prima Ecclesie ætate usque ad Præseus Tempus auctore Martino Gerberto Monasterii et Cong. S. Blasii in Silva Nigra Abbate.*—Fig. iii. tab. 26. The editor is indebted to Mr. Wm. Chappell for this interesting illustration.

by a capital of an early Romanesque type, and the little tower, which, though in ignorance of perspective, is drawn as if rising on the capital, was most probably meant to represent the belfry in the background where the bells were kept. These slender towers, with small apertures and conical roofs surmounted by a cross, quite correspond with the Irish *cloicthech*. A type of small belfry placed on the roof of the church, more fitted for the emission of sound, and not built with military or defensive purpose, may have also been in use at this early period. In fig. 5 such a belfry with four bells is represented, and is very different in character from the Irish tower. Here the chamber walls are not merely pierced by narrow slits, such as the apertures in the tops of the defensive ecclesiastical towers, but the belfry is open to the air. This representation of what appears to have been a small

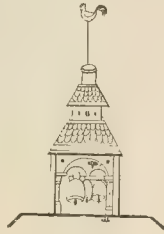


Fig. 5.



Fig. 4.

structure placed on the roof of the church is found in the Benedictional of S. Æthelwold, executed at Hyde Abbey about the year 980.¹

¹ Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, in A.D. 963, died 984. The scribe who executed this work, Godemann, was abbot of Thorny, between the years 963 and 984. In this, the last miniature in the volume, the bishop is represented giving his blessing. On the little tower of the church a cock is placed—for vigilance.

The office of bellringer in Ireland was associated with that of porter, and the Irish word for bell-ringer, *aistire*, is, as Dr. Petrie remarks, obviously formed from the Latin *ostiarius*. Le Blant, in his work on Christian Inscriptions, tells us "L'office d'ostiarius est souvent mentionné dans les textes antiques; c'est le plus humble degré des fonctions de l'Eglise. L'ostiarius était le gardien du Saint lieu; il en défendait l'entrée aux indignes et annonçait le jour et la nuit les heures de la prière;"¹ and the same writer adduces evidence of the existence of such an office in the year 551. In Ireland, at a later date, the work of *aistire* is divided into two classes. "Noble his work when the bell is that of the cloicthech, humble his work when it is a hand-bell."² This passage can hardly be taken as evidence that the tower-bell was larger than the hand-bell, since, even were such the case, the task of pulling a large bell with a rope cannot be deemed nobler than

Fig. 1.



BELL OF ST. PATRICK.

Fig. 2.



CLOG BEANNAIGHTHE.

that of swinging a hand-bell, but it may point to such a difference as exists between the carillon bell-ringer and the mere servant who swings a hand-bell.

The same progress and development may be traced in bell-making as is perceivable in other forms of art in Ireland, and there is as great a difference between the rude iron square bell of St. Patrick in the fifth century (fig. 1) and that of Cumasach, son of Ailill, in the tenth (fig. 2), as there is between the oratories of the founders of Christianity and the churches of Cormac O'Cillen.³ Yet no bell that we have heard of has been found in Ireland to exceed 13 in. in height. They are generally without ornament, but Lord Dunraven has described one in his work on Adare,⁴ which is enriched with a border and

¹ Le Blant gives the following references to the word *Ostiarius*:—Du Cange, H. Vo.; Cancellieri, *De Secretariis*, p. 474; l'Abbé Greppo, *Revue du Lyonnais*, tom. xiii. p. 190; Ce mot se trouve cinq fois, Orthographe comme sur le Marbre de Trèves, dans les souscriptions d'un acte de vente de l'an 551 (Marini, Pap. Dipl. p. 183); Une double prière du *Missale Francorum* est intitulée, "Benedictio Ustearii" (Thomasius, *Codices Sacramentorum*, p. 398); S. Greg. *Opp.*, ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars 1, col. 220, et 489.

² This passage is found in a tract of the Brehon laws, *Seanchus beag*, preserved in the Book of Lecan.

³ See Vol. I. Pl. LXIV. text p. 125.

⁴ *Memorials of Adare*, p. 152.

a cross. It is of fine bronze, and measures 12 in. high, 9 in. wide, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep. This bell was found at Cashel in the year 1849.

If we adopt the idea that the *cloictige* were not only, as their original name proves, places where bells were housed, but also where carillons were played, we need not disconnect the towers from bells, or sever them from the beautiful associations with their sound which still linger in the traditions of the peasantry, and which their name conveys. Thus the memory of a bell which once hung in the bell-house of Aughagower, in the county of Mayo, is still preserved in the neighbourhood, where the people say that it was buried for concealment in a bog close by, and that of a quiet evening its sound, "like

Fig. 3.



ANCIENT BELLS OF IRELAND.

silver," can be heard across the waste; the same story is told of the bells of Ferta, hidden in a neighbouring swamp; and Dr. Petrie relates, that at Rattoo a silver bell of wonderful sweetness is said to have hung in the upper story of the tower, but during the "troubles" it was thrown into the River Brick. It cannot now be found, though its melancholy tones used occasionally to be heard rising from the water.¹

¹ The writer carried an ordinary dinner-bell to the top of Clondalkin round tower, and observed that the sound seemed much greater when heard within the topmost chamber of the tower than in an ordinary hall, and a friend standing at a distance of 100 ft. from the building said, the tone was quite as loud as when rung beside her down on the level of the ground. This bell, being of good bell metal, the composition of which does not appear to have been known before the thirteenth century, would, of course, yield a much greater volume of sound than the thin bronze or iron of the tenth-century bells. Nevertheless, we may believe that the small bells of an early period may have been as audible from the top of these towers as at their base or within their churches. Although

If we examine the entries regarding these buildings in the annals we find that the bell or bells of the monastery are generally enumerated among the ecclesiastical treasures destroyed in the attack upon the church tower. Besides the relics and the crosier of the patron saint of Slane, which had been removed for safety into the cloic-thech, "the bell, which was the best of bells," was also burnt when the Norsemen stormed the place. However, there is no evidence to prove that this crosier was anything better than the oak staff of St. Erc, who is said to have died in the year 514, and the bell, than the hand-bell of the altar. The same authorities allude to the destruction of the *bells* of Armagh. And Cashel was traditionally called Cashel of the Bells; but we have no reason to believe that these either were more than small bells similar to those that have been found in such numbers in Ireland.

Dr. Lynch, writing in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, has also alluded to these towers in a manner which shows, not only his conviction of their ecclesiastical purpose, but also of their comparatively late date. "None of them," he says, "are ever found in Ireland, except in cemeteries of cathedral churches or of the most celebrated abbeys." And again he remarks (vol. ii. p. 191), referring to the progress of the art of building after the time of St. Columba: "In later ages those slender, high, and round pillar towers, which still stand near most of the cathedral churches of Ireland, began to be erected of stone and used as belfries, after the invasions of the Danes." Then, in allusion to their purpose, he observes: "In course of time the custom was introduced of hanging bells in the top of them, and

such bells never could have sufficed for sonorous signals by which the inhabitants of the wide tracts of country visible from the summits of these towers could be summoned either to prayer or arms, yet it may be held that five small bells tuned to the five notes which composed our ancient scale, and played with a metal hammer while slung on a bar of wood or iron, might produce a delightful effect within the tower, and also be quite audible to the inhabitants of the monastic buildings that clustered round its base. In this manner we may account for the bars of iron or of oak said to have been observed at Ballagh, Trummery, Ardmore, and Clondalkin. The first allusion made to these towers is where the legend is related by Giraldus Cambrensis of the city buried in Lough Neagh, whose church towers could be seen, in calm weather, through the water; and as the belief was that this lake had its origin in a flood that had occurred in the first century of the Christian era, it is held that Giraldus must have considered such submerged buildings as pre-Christian. But at most he does but compare them to the church towers built after the fashion of the country, and the legend belongs only to a whole cycle of such stories of buried cities or churches found in the British islands and off the coast of France, as well as on the shores of the Dead Sea, where Chateaubriand and De Lamartine met with the same legend. In England, the idea is generally to be found in mining districts, where the miners say, that not only the bells of these buried churches may be heard from the bowels of the earth, but men's voices also chanting hymns and anthems. In mountainous districts the peasants collect in the fields or valleys to hear the bells, which are sure to sound out for joy on Christmas-eve, from beneath their feet. In Germany, the legend is of a lost church in a thick dark forest, which has suggested some beautiful lines of the poet Uhland; and there are many which speak of submerged cities, as in one of the lakes at Crossmere in Shropshire, where a chapel is said to have been submerged, and the villagers will tell how that constantly the bells may be heard ringing beneath the still waters. Much poetry hangs about such legends wherever they occur, relating how, through the silent night—whether to the fisher, or the sailor, or the miner—they speak of a city or a temple that is buried, or a life that has passed away into darkness, yet lives, and with its pure and tender sound calls to us from the deep.

¹ Cambrensis Eversus, with translation by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, vol. iii. p. 343. (Celtic Soc. Dubl. 1851-2.)

using them as belfries, not towering, as at present, over the centre of the church, and resting on arches, but raised to a suitable height from the ground plane of the cemetery."¹ From these observations it must be allowed that we should look to some other use for the church towers of Ireland besides the mere hanging of signal bells; and although we hold that they were used, as their name indicates, as places for the housing of bells, yet that the primary purpose for which they were meant was subservient to the accommodation of bells alone, seems a theory which is wholly untenable. We must reconsider some of the material evidence afforded by the structures themselves, if we would learn the original object of the builders. First, it should be remembered that they were altogether closed in; that their small doorways, from 4 to 5 ft. 6 in. in height, were evidently furnished with double doors.² "The exterior door," as Mr. Wm. Morrison has remarked, "placed necessarily in an innermost position, was deemed indispensable," while the interior one was hung within the inner face of the wall from projecting brackets of stone. That these double doors were of iron is rendered probable by the fact that one was in existence to a late date in the tower at Iniscaltra. It hung inside the arch, and was remembered by the oldest inhabitants of the neighbouring country at the beginning of this century, and the traces of the hinge fastening on the left side were seen by Dr. O'Donovan, while on the right a piece of the iron holdfast still remains where the bolt entered. In this tower, as well as in those of Roscrea, Rattoo, and Armoy, Ardmore, Fertagh, and Kilkenny, appliances for an inner and permanent door, either a socket, pivot-hole, or projecting stone for receiving bolts, have been observed, along with the bolt-holes and rebate or stop, at both sides, for fastening the outer and removable shutter. These contrivances, along with the fact that the doorways (like those of the circular military towers at Dinkelsbühl) were generally from 10 ft. to 13 ft. above the level of the ground, were certainly means resorted to as protection from forcible entry; and it is evident that, at a subsequent period, those defences have been designedly, and often carefully, removed, owing perhaps to the increased security of the country. A close examination of the other apertures in these buildings leads to the conviction that they were more of the nature of loopholes than apertures either for the admission of light or for the emission of sound. They were placed near the floor, one on each story, and each commanding a different side of the tower, one almost always over the door. Weighty missiles could be thus pushed through them and let fall on the besiegers underneath, and in some instances, as at Lusk, the cill slopes downwards externally, as if to afford facility for pushing such missiles outwards through the thickness of the wall.

Dr. Petrie, who held very strongly to the opinion that these towers were used for places of safety and defence, as well as for belfries, quotes a passage in support of this view from an essay by Colonel Montmorency on the subject, where he remarks:³ "The pillar-tower, as a defensive hold, taking into account the period that produced it, may fairly pass for one of the completest inventions that can well be imagined. Impregnable every way,

¹ *Cambrensis Eversus*, with translation by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, vol. ii. p. 197.

² *Ecccl. Arch. of Ireland*, pp. 370, 374. (Trans. R. I. Academy, vol. xx.)

³ *Ibid.* p. 373.

and proof against fire, it could never be taken by assault. Although the abbey and its dependencies blazed around, the tower disregarded the fury of the flames; its extreme height, its isolated position, and diminutive doorway, elevated so many feet above the ground, placed it beyond the reach of the destroyer. The signal once made, announcing the approach of a foe, by those who kept watch on the top, the alarm spread instantaneously, not only among the inmates of the cloister, but the inhabitants were roused to arms in the country many miles around." And it has also been observed by Sir Walter Scott, "These towers might possibly have been contrived for the temporary retreat of the priest, and the means of protecting the holy things from desecration on the occasion of alarm, which in those uncertain times suddenly happened and as suddenly passed away."¹

It is also worthy of note, that in the two instances where these towers are mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, writing in the year 1187, there is nothing said to support the idea that they were then regarded as built for the purpose of upraising a sonorous signal, although their ecclesiastical character is distinctly asserted. He speaks of the "ecclesiastical towers which, according to the custom of the country, are slender and lofty, and moreover round." He does not here allude to the practice of erecting such buildings as being a thing of the past, but expresses himself as if speaking of a custom that existed at the period in which he writes, and implies that the towers he alludes to were such as the Irish were building when he visited the country; and in the story he relates of the falcon of Kildare the incidental allusion to the "church tower" is another instance which conveys that they were held to be ecclesiastical in the twelfth century.² This is an important fact to observe, since it is an argument against the theory of the remote prehistoric period of the erection of these buildings, while it is quite compatible with the belief that many of them may belong to the eleventh or twelfth centuries.³

When a number of observations, starting from independent sources, are all found to converge on one given point, arguments founded on such, which, if taken separately, might each prove insufficient for the establishment of any theory, must gain almost incontrovertible force if thus endowed with united action. In this instance six various leading courses of observation point to the close of the ninth century for the date of this striking innovation in architecture:—

1. Correspondence of masonry with that of other buildings of this date.

¹ See Quarterly Review, vol. xli. 1829.

² "Turres ecclesiasticæ, quæ more patriæ arctæ sunt et altæ, necnon et rotundæ." Topog. Hib. dist. ii. cap. 9 (Opp. vol. v, ed. Dunock, p. 92). "Falco qui et ecclesiasticæ turris summitati insidere consueverat." Ib. cap. 37 (p. 122).

³ It is quite impossible that iron exposed to the air in the damp climate of Ireland should last for thousands of years, and yet, as I have been informed by Professor Emerson Reynolds, an iron bar of moderate thickness might last a very considerable time indeed, even when exposed to damp and wind. The first effect of such exposure would be to coat the iron bar with a protecting covering of oxide of iron; and though, of course, this would gradually drop off and expose the underlying metal to the damp and wind, it would take a very long time to eat completely through the bar. If the iron were near the sea, perchloride of iron would be formed, and the process of disintegration would be more rapid. Those towers are all inland where such iron fittings have been found, and these observations lead to the conclusion that, while it is possible for iron to endure eight or nine centuries in such positions, it is not to be believed that they have lasted for eighteen hundred or two thousand years.

2. Correspondence of architectural style of the first examples with ditto.
3. Condition of iron fittings in harmony with this date.
4. Defensive ecclesiastical buildings not required before this date.
5. Historical notices and traditions of the towers, first associating them with this date.
6. Existence of analogous buildings on the Continent at or about this time.

The conclusion drawn from all these data being that such towers, though constructed from time to time over a considerable period, and undergoing corresponding changes in detail, were first built at the close of the ninth century, and that a number seem to have been erected simultaneously, it now remains for us to investigate the external causes which led to the introduction of this defensive element in the architecture of the church.

"La marche des arts est lente, conséquente, logique, les grands résultats ne sont que le produit d'efforts considérables, suivis, réguliers, de traditions perpétuées ou reprises, mais dont il est facile de retrouver la trace, pour peu qu'on s'en donne la peine. S'il y a des soubresauts, des revirements brusques en politique, il n'en est jamais ainsi dans les arts, et surtout dans l'art de l'architecture."¹

To trace out the history of the causes which produced the great effort manifested in the apparently simultaneous erection of many of these buildings forms the next part of our task.

The reluctance still shown by many to part with their faith in the vast antiquity of these "pillar towers," even now, after the conclusive arguments by which Dr. Petrie fixed their Christian origin and use, can only be understood when we realize the visionary charm that such experience robbed them of, which to men of much poetic feeling has seemed to cling around their walls as naturally as the mosses and lichens with which they are clothed.

"O, mystic Tower! I never gaze on thee,
Altho' since childhood's scarce remember'd spring
Thou wert to me a most familiar thing,
Without an awe, and not from wonder free.

* * *

"Oh, structure strange and column-like and high!
Thy lofty brow is lifted towards the sky,
And all things human that around thee lie,
Thou, lonely watcher, here, ere they began,
Saw'st as they rose around thee."²

But truth may clothe these ruins yet with that deeper poetry which belongs to honest labour, and reveals in their worn stones the signs of noble effort and of progress in an ideal cause. "Here," says one of our greatest living authors, "undoubtedly lies the chief poetic energy: in the force of imagination that pierces or exalts the solid fact, instead of floating among cloud-pictures."³

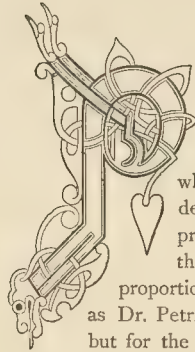
¹ See Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur L'Architecture*, tom. 1^{ère}, p. 198.

² *Hist. and Antiqs. of St. Canice's Cathedral*, pp. 124, 126. Sonnets by the Rev. James Leckey.

³ Daniel Deronda, book iv. p. 326.

CHAPTER V.

THE NORTHMEN IN IRELAND.



UGIN has observed in his essay on the Revival of Christian Architecture that "the history of architecture is the history of the world;"¹ therefore in tracing the origin and growth of new forms in this art, we may expect to find a parallel stream in the course of events which mark the career of the race to whom it belongs. Where any decided innovation occurs in the architecture of a country, it seems probable that some revolution in its history may be found to account for the phenomenon. Hitherto, the churches of Ireland, in their humble proportions and symmetrical simplicity, were the natural offspring, not only, as Dr. Petrie has beautifully expressed it, "of a religion not made for the rich, but for the poor and lowly;"² they were also the result of choice and adherence to a primitive national system. Even after the introduction of the ornamented style termed Irish Romanesque, we find that there was no material departure from the simple ground-plan and small dimensions of the earlier churches of the horizontal lintel. The church system of Ireland continued to be, as it had always been, one that entailed the erection of a number of small buildings, either grouped together, as at Glendalough, or thickly scattered over the face of the country; and at the time of transition to Romanesque there was no corresponding change in the ecclesiastical system of the country.

When the group of humble dwellings which formed the monasteries and schools of Ireland is seen at the foot of the lofty tower whose masonry rarely seems to correspond in date with the buildings that surround it, and which does not, as elsewhere, seem a component and accessory part of the whole pile which formed the feudal abbey, we cannot but feel that some new condition in the history of the Irish Church must have arisen to account for the apparition of these bold and lofty structures; and here, then, we may take up the thread of the history where we left it, at the close of that period of steady progress from the fifth to the end of the eighth century, when the language of Ireland was developing and her schools were the most frequented in Northern Europe. In the beginning of the ninth century a new state of things was ushered in, and a change took place in the hitherto unmolested condition of the Church. Ireland became the battle-field of the first struggle between Paganism and Christianity in Western Europe;³ and the result of the effort then made in defence of her faith is marked in the ecclesiastical architecture of the country by the apparently simultaneous erection of a number of lofty towers, rising in

¹ Essay on the Revival of Christian Architecture. A. Welby Pugin, p. 4.

² Petrie's *Eccl. Architecture*, p. 190.

³ See *The Story of Burnt Njal*. Dasent, Vol. I. Introd. p. clxxxix.; also *Quarterly Review*, No. 283, July, 1876, p. 133.

strength of "defence and faithfulness of watch" before the doorways of those churches most liable to be attacked. For seven centuries Christianity had steadily advanced in Western Europe. At first silent and unseen, we feel how wondrously it grew,¹ like some pure air that, breathed into the soiled haunts of man, must slowly strengthen and revive the spirits it encounters, until, in the reign of Charlemagne, it became an instrument in the hands of one whose mission was to establish a Christian monarchy, and who, widening his borders into heathen lands, and impelled, not only by religious zeal, but by the great object of planting his kingdom on a secure and broad foundation, invaded Saxony, in the year 772.

Dense as is the obscurity in which the cause of the wanderings and ravages of the Scandinavian Vikings is enveloped, yet the result of the investigations hitherto made upon the subject is, that they were in a great measure consequent on the conquests of Charlemagne in the north of Germany, and on the barrier which he thereby—as well as by the introduction of Christianity—set to their onward march. It can hardly be attributed to accident that with the gradual strengthening of the Frankish dominion the hordes of Northmen descended on the British Islands in ever increasing numbers. The policy of Charlemagne in his invasion of Saxony, and the energy by which he succeeded in driving his enemies beyond the Elbe and to the German Ocean, were manifestly intensified by religious zeal. The Saxons were still heathens, and the first attack made by the Frankish King was on the fortress of Eresbourg,² where stood the temple of Irminsul, the great idol of the nation. We read that he laid waste their temples, and their idols were broken in pieces. "He built monasteries and churches, founded bishoprics, and filled Saxony with priests and missionaries. For some years previously the countries between the Elbe, Upper Saxony, the German Ocean, and the Baltic, had been devastated by the Frankish army, the population flying into Denmark and the North, and the war of Charlemagne," writes Mr. Haliday, "was now a crusade. Its object was alike to conquer and convert. The military and religious habits were united in his camp, which was the scene of martial exercises, solemn processions, and public prayers; and the clergy, who crowded round his standard, participated in the objects and results of his victories." The war thus entered upon leads us to that point in the history of the Western Church when the religion of Christ is first met by a mighty revulsion arising in the mingled grandeur and gloom of all that is great and all that is false in the spirit of ancient heathenism, when the flood, driven backwards into northern seas, first heaved its mighty volume of resistant waters, and broke in a great wave upon the Irish shore.

However it may appear from ancient authorities that for some centuries before the Scandinavians had occasionally infested the southern shores of Europe, yet in the added light that is cast by the Irish annals upon the subject, we perceive that from this date their piratical incursions afford evidence not before met with of preconcerted plan and insistent energy; and these events in the reign of Charles may lead us to discover what was the strong impulse that thus tended in some measure to condense and

¹ Works of George Herbert, 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 127.

² Now Stadberg, between Cassel and Paderborn. Gaillard, *Histoire de Charlemagne*, tome i. p. 344.

concentrate their desultory warfare. Impelled by some strong overmastering passion, these hordes of northern warriors held on from year to year their avenging march; and such was the fury of their arms that even now, after a lapse of a thousand years, their deeds are held in appalling remembrance throughout Europe, not only in every city on the sea shore or on the river, but even in the peasant traditions of the smallest inland village. "Wheresoever," says Mr. Laing, "this people from beyond the pale and influence of the old Roman empire and of the later Church empire of Rome, either settled, mingled, or marauded, they have left permanent traces in society of their laws, institutions, character, and spirit. Pagan and barbarian as they were, they seem to have carried with them something more natural, something more suitable to the social wants of man, than the laws and institutions formed under the Roman power."¹

Yet, when all has been said that can be for the invigorating influence of their energy and the enkindling spark they are held to have borne with them of a free social existence, in which men might have a voice in their government and in the enactment of their laws, it must still be borne in mind that at the period when Ireland was the scene of this struggle, and indeed for two centuries later, the faith of these Northmen was idolatry, and there is no proof that they possessed the knowledge of letters. In contemplating the history of a period which left as it did such important traces in the ecclesiastical architecture of North-Western Europe we may pause to consider the two forms of faith that now met face to face in battle. In both these systems we find belief in the immortality of the soul,² but the latter is merely based on faith in the potency for good or ill of the embodied forces of nature. "The primary characteristic of this old Northland mythology," says Carlyle, is the "Impersonation" and "earnest simple recognition of the workings of Physical Nature, as a thing wholly miraculous, stupendous, and divine," the recognition of such forces as personal agencies, gods and demons; and in this faith the main result attained was the belief in an inexorable and inflexible destiny which it is useless trying to bend or soften, and that the one thing needful for a man was to be brave. Odin stands the central figure of this Scandinavian religion; Frigga, Freya, and Thor attend with a number of minor deities, and throughout the whole mythology vestiges of an ancient and general tradition are to be found. Oracles, divinations, auspices, presages, and lots formed parts of their system.³ The Christianity by which this religion was confronted may be also said to have preserved vestiges of ancient heathenism; but if we contemplate it in the only fair way to look at any form of faith, that is, as revealed to us by its representative men and through the medium of their mind, we behold it as the handmaid of original investigation and discovery. The teachers of Ireland from the eighth to the tenth century declared the spherical form of the earth, and the summer solstice in the Northern hemispheres, while her astronomers had well-nigh anticipated the theory of Copernicus. We find these ecclesiastics upholding Greek learning and philosophic speculation, asserting the freedom of the will, even at this early date, and still clinging

¹ The *Heimskringla*, or *Chron. Kings Norway*, translated by S. Laing, Prelim. Dissert. vol. i. pp. 5, 11.

² See Carlyle on Heroes, Hero Worship, and the Heroic in History, pp. 15, 17, 28.

³ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 103.

fast to that faith which more than a century before had given to us the Hymn of Patrick with its passionate and absorbing devotion to Christ; while in the fearless denunciations of sin poured forth by Columbanus and Kilian upon the rulers in whose power they lay, we see the courageous faith of men ready to lay down their life in the cause of that moral purity which is involved in our religion.

It was soon after the alliance of the Saxon King Witikind with Sigefroi of Denmark and some time before the establishment of the monarchy in Norway under Harald Harfagra, that the Danish ships made their first descent upon the coasts of France and the British islands; and the long series of invasions that ensued proves how the flame soon spread to Norway and to Sweden, which for centuries to come poured its lava torrent upon Western Europe. "We have sung the mass of lances," the Northmen would say in derision; "it began at dawn of morning, and has lasted until night;"¹ while an ancient bard of Ireland sings:—

"Bitter in sooth is the wind to-night,
Rousing the wrath of the white-haired sea;
For smooth sea-sailing hath no delight
To Norways sons so bold and free."²

Ireland, which hitherto had been the "workshop of men famous for learning and sanctity," was now to become the fortified outpost of the Western Church.

In the year 794 we read³ of the first attack made by these invaders upon Irish shores, when a party of the heathen Vikings, driven from the coast of Glamorganshire, descend upon the little island of Lambay and plunder its sacred shrine. Their advent is said to have been foretold in numerous prophetic warnings;⁴ which bears evidence to the fact that a belief existed at an early period in Ireland that this war was something different from a mere struggle against pirates, and rather a special contest between the Christian institutions of the country and the heathenism of the new comers:—

"And the Pagans shall come over the wild wave, by whom shall confusion be brought upon the Gael.

"In the abbacy of every church, the black Gentiles of Dublin.

"There shall be of them an abbot over this my church, who will not attend to Matins.

"Without Pater and without credo, without Irish, but only foreign language."⁵

¹ Attum odda messu . . . (Olaf Wormii Litterature Runica, p. 208). Scriptores rerum Danicarum, vol. i. p. 374. *Ibid.* vol. iv. 26. (A.D. 787 to 835. See Thierry's Hist. of the Norman Conquest, p. 21.)

² This quatrain, translated by W. S., is quoted by Zeuss, 928, from the St. Gall Priscian; the original is as follows:—

"Is acher in gáith innocht,
Fufuasna fairgge find-folt;
Ni ágor reimm mora mion
Dond laechraid lainn oa Lochlind."

(See Irish Glosses, Trans. Irish Archl. Society, 1860.)

³ Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, edited by Dr. Todd, from three Irish MSS., one of which, preserved in the Book of Leinster, is held to date from about the year 1100. See Introd. pp. xlvii. to lvii.

⁴ The Scandinavians and the Scandinavian Antiqs. of Dublin, by Ch. Haliday, p. 14.

⁵ Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, p. 11.

At first these invaders seem to have confined their efforts to the outlying islands on the coast of Ireland, and it was not until about the year 818 that we read of a regularly organized invasion, headed by a Norwegian leader named, by Irish writers, Thorgils (servant of Thor), latinized Turgesius; but who, antiquaries have suggested, may be identified with Ragnar Lodbrok, whose heroism is sung in the famous death song of the Icelandic Skald.¹ This king seems evidently to have aimed at the establishment of a regular government and the foundation of a permanent colony in Ireland, with the subjugation or extermination of the native princes. For this purpose the forces under his command were skilfully posted on Loch Ree, at Limerick, Dundalk Bay, Carlingford, Lough Neagh, and Dublin. He appears also to have attempted, and in part achieved, the establishment of the national heathenism of his own country in the place of the Christianity which he found in Ireland. In the year 839, we read: "Moreover Ardmacha (Armagh) was plundered three times in the same month by them, and Turgeis himself usurped the abbacy of Ardmacha and Farannan." In this passage we learn that he usurped the abbacy, that is to say, the full authority and jurisdiction, in Armagh and the north of Ireland. And the full significance of these renewed assaults upon this church and final establishment in this place will be perceived when it is remembered that Armagh was the principal ecclesiastical city of the north of Ireland. He reigned here for four years, while Forannan, the real abbot, or bishop and chief successor of Patrick, was driven out and fled to Munster. Not satisfied with the full supremacy he had acquired in the north, this Pagan achieved the conquest of the other ecclesiastical city of Ireland, that of Clonmacnois. For this purpose he took command of a fleet he had stationed in Loch Ree. Hence he plundered all the great ecclesiastical establishments upon its shores and the neighbouring banks of the Shannon, as far as Iniscaltra and Lorrha; and, having accomplished the seizure of Clonmacnois and burnt its oratories, he appears to have left his wife as sovereign there. The manner in which her office is described is very significant, and seems to bear out the theory that his object was to supplant the national religion by heathenism, to suppress the ecclesiastical as well as civil authorities of the country, and to destroy the Christian Church. One authority states, "Cluainmicnois was taken by his wife. It was on the altar of the great church she used to give her answers. Otta was the name of the wife of Torgeis."² Another says, "The place where Ota, the wife of Turgeis, used to give her audience was upon the altar of Cluain-mic-Nois."³ Duald Mac Firbis states, in his Account of Danish

¹ This is not the place for any lengthened discussion on a question of this nature, even had the writer knowledge sufficient to cope with it; nevertheless, it would be well that students of Scandinavian literature should remember that much light may be thrown on their subject by a comparison with that of Ireland, that while we are still in the region of myth and heroic legend in Scandinavia, we have more or less attained a period of historic fact in Irish records. And the oldest Sagas—belonging as they do to the 10th century—may possibly be imitations of the historic poems, such as the battle of Moyra, which they had met with in Ireland a century before. "Many such productions," says Dr. Todd, "of undoubted antiquity, are still extant in the Irish language." The first Saga writer in the Norse language, Are Hinn Frode, is said to have been born in Iceland in 1067, and lived to 1148 or 1158. (See Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gael, p. xxviii. note 2.)

² See Fragment in the Book of Leinster of the Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill.

³ See Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, edited by Dr. Todd, p. 13, and Introd.

Families in Ireland, that "Turgeis took possession of, and held his residence at, Clonmacnois, and that his wife was wont to issue her orders to the people from the high altar of the cathedral church there." The statement in the first of these quotations, that the Queen "delivered her answers" from the altar of Clonmacnois cathedral, seems to point to the establishment of heathen rites in the churches of Ireland, and to suggest that oracles were uttered by her, and it is perhaps in allusion to some such practices that the writer of the Annals of Clonmacnois refers when, describing the ravages of the Northmen, he says, "the churches, abbeys, and other religious places were by them quite razed and debased, or otherwise turned to vile, base, servile, and abominable uses."¹

The condition of Ireland during the reign of this heathen ruler is thus graphically described by Keatinge, p. 508 :—"It was not allowed to give instruction in letters, nor to live in religious communities, for the Lochlannaigh dwelt in the temples and in the duns : no scholars, no clerics, no books, no holy relics were left in church or monastery through dread of them ; neither bard nor philosopher nor musician pursued their wonted professions in the land. . . . The result of the heavy oppression of this thralldom of the Gaels under the Lochlannaigh² was, that great weariness thereof came upon the men of Ireland and the few of the clergy that survived had fled for safety to the forests and wildernesses, where they lived in misery."³

At this period, says the annalist, "the sea seemed to vomit forth floods of invaders, so that there was not a point of Ireland without a fleet." But the victorious career of this "servant of Thor" was soon to receive a check, and in the year 845 the fresh armies of the invader were met with a vigour that equalled their own. "When," says Keatinge, "the chieftains of Ireland saw that Turgesius had brought confusion upon their country, and that he was assuming supreme authority over themselves, and reducing them to thralldom and vassalage, they became inspired with a fortitude of mind and a loftiness of spirit and a hardihood and firmness of purpose that urged them to work in right earnest, and to toil zealously in battle against him and his plundering hordes." He then enumerates nine battles fought in various parts of Ireland, in which the Norsemen were signally defeated ; and these victories were followed up by the seizure and death of Turgesius.

A period of "rest to the men of Erin" is said to have now ensued, which endured for forty years, during which time Ireland was regarded as a place of comparative safety ; we read in the Annals of Ulster that the shrine of St. Columcille, with his *minnia*, or precious

¹ McGeoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnois.

² The term Lochlann is supposed to signify Lake-land, and may have been applied to Norway (see Todd, *Ib.* *Introd.* p. xxxi.).

³ A curious picture of the barbarous practices of these invaders is given in the following extract from the Irish Annals :—"Now at this time, Maelsechlain of Teamhair (*i.e.*, Malachy of Tara), sent ambassadors to the Danes, and at their arrival the Danes were cooking, and the supports of their cauldrons were heaps of bodies of the Lochlanns, and one end of the spit on which the meat was hung was stuck into the bodies of the Lochlanns The ambassadors of Maelsechlain beheld them in this condition, and they reproached the Danes with this savage conduct. The Danes replied, 'This is the way *they* would like to have us.' They had a great wide trench filled with gold and silver to give to St. Patrick, for the Danes were a people who had a kind of piety, *i.e.*, they gave up meat and women awhile for piety."—See *Fragments of Irish Annals*, p. 125.

things, was removed to Ireland "to protect them from the foreigners;" and the year before, as the same Annals inform us, Ruaidhri, son of Mervyn, King of Britain or Wales, fled to Ireland to escape the Danes.¹

During the peace which ensued between the years 875 and 916, the same vigorous efforts were made to restore the churches and monasteries of Ireland that we again read of in the beginning of the eleventh century; and the communication with France, which had existed in the reign of Charlemagne, was continued in the reign of Charles the Bald, at whose court Johannes Scotus Erigena remained for some time. It is stated by Ware that in the year 848 King Malachy obtained a signal victory over the Danes; "whereupon he sent ambassadors to Charles the Bald, king of France, with presents, desiring liberty of passage to Rome." And it would seem from the following passage in the Norman Chronicle that the Franks were cognisant of and grateful for the successful resistance made by the Irish to their common enemy. "In the year 848, the Northmen lay waste and burnt Burdegala (*i. e.*, Bordeaux) in Aquitania—captured through the treachery of the Jews. Afterwards Metullus, which hamlet they lay waste and give over to the flames. The Scots, breaking in upon the Northmen, by God's help victorious, drive them forth from their borders. Whereupon the King of the Scots sends, for the sake of peace and friendship, legates to Charles, with gifts."² Another proof of the existence of such friendly relations between Ireland and France may be found in the epistle of Alcuin to Colchu, lector of Clonmacnois, when the former was resident at the court of Charlemagne.³ "It was also in the reign of this great king that two learned Irishmen, Clemens and Albinus, were placed at the head of schools, the one in France the other in Italy."⁴ In the ground plan of the Irish monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, said to have been drawn by Eginhard, secretary to Charlemagne, we find the detached circular belfries introduced, and standing opposite the west door, such as we hold were afterwards copied in Ireland.

When we study the history of architecture in Gaul during the eighth and ninth centuries we find that little now remains save the mere débris of monuments belonging to this period, and that such fragments are examples of a very rude art, being a sort of compromise between Roman traditions and influences spreading from the East through Ravenna. In

¹ The victories gained over the Norsemen under Malachy the First, are not the only proofs afforded by the history of this period of the vigour and courage of the Irish nation in the ninth century. It was in the year 842 that the final subjugation of the south of Scotland was effected by the Albanian Dalriada, whose emigration from Ireland has been already alluded to. We learn from Dr. Reeves that, "In the year 838, Kenneth Mac Alpin, the thirty-fourth ruler of the Albanian Dalriada, ascended the throne, and in 842 he subdued the Picts of North Britain, thus becoming master of the entire country between Edinburgh and Caithness. From this time the specific name of Dalriada began to fall into disuse, until at length, the whole kingdom was called Scotia or Scotland, after the name of the race which had branched into it from Ireland, and to whose arms it had gradually submitted."

² Chronicle of the Deeds of the Normans in France, ap. Andr. Du Chesne. *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores*, t. ii. p. 524. Lutet. Par. 1636.

³ This letter is preserved among Archbishop Ussher's *Epistolæ Hiberniæ*. *Epist. xviii.* Works, vol. iv. p. 466.

⁴ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 529. "Karolus magnus Imperator in tantum dilexit locum S. Galli, et ita familiaris, erat fratribus ut eum non aliter nominarent nisi noster Karolus."—*Ekkehardus vit. B. Notkeri*, c. 29, G. p. 277.

the eighth century, Leo the Isaurian, in his Iconoclastic Movement, is said to have caused a great influx of artists into Italy and France.¹ "Painters and sculptors took refuge on the coast of Italy, and spread through the whole country. It was among these emigrants that Charlemagne found the artists who were to assist him in developing the *renaissance* he projected. The round towers of San Giovanni Battista and San Apollinare, in Classis, with others of the same character in Ravenna, as well as the town of St. Maurice, at Epinal, Ste. Geneviève, St. Germain des Prés, Aix la Chapelle,² may all derive their origin from this influx of Byzantine workmen into the north of Italy and to the court of Charlemagne, and the circular tower may be a reminiscence of the Eastern cylindrical pillar. However this may be, we find that it was immediately after this accession of Eastern influence in France, as well as in consequence of certain impulses or necessities not springing from the religious sentiment, that the first ecclesiastical towers were raised. M. Viollet-le-Duc has, as we have before remarked, shown what was this external cause. He attributes it entirely to the necessity felt by the Franks of that time to protect their churches from the attacks of the heathen Northmen in the valleys of the Loire and Seine and on the north and west coasts of France; remarking that they defended their churches with towers, which were naturally built near the door of the church, as being the point most liable to attack;"³ and he adds, that it is indeed in those countries which were particularly ravaged by the periodical incursions of the Northmen that we see abbatial, and even parochial churches, preceded by massive towers, "of which, unfortunately," he says, "nothing but the lower stories are now left to us."⁴

Ozanam, speaking of the Irish ecclesiastics of this period, observes, "Une sorte de piété filiale les poussait de préférence vers ces Eglises des Gaules d'où ils avaient reçu l'Evangile." This being so, strengthens the probability that the two churches—simultaneously attacked by the armies of a common foe—should adopt a similar method of protection and defence. But, it may be argued, if the type was originally imported from France, why are such detached church towers not to be seen there still, when they are so common in Ireland? The answer to that is, that the continental church towers of the Carlovingian age have been almost wholly destroyed, and generally replaced by towers of a later and more beautiful type, while those of the first type still stand in Ireland. However, we may learn from the few examples of this date remaining in France and Italy, that the first ecclesiastical towers may be divided into two types: one a development of the cupola, the other tall, slender, pointed. The one a low massive tower which acts as a central lantern, the other

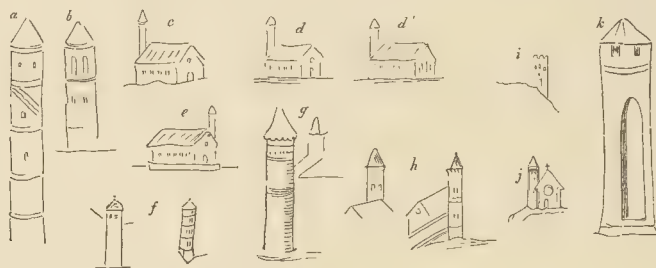
¹ See *Entretiens sur l'Architecture*, par M. Viollet-le-Duc, tom. 1^{er}, pp. 196, 258.

² The lofty round tower of the cathedral of Uzes, near Nîmes, a portion of which is still standing, was divided into seven or eight stories. See *L'Architecte*, 2^e série, No. 19, pp. 297-300.

³ "Prope valvas majoris ecclesiæ campanarium erexit."—Du Cange, *voce* Campana. It was at the close of the Ninth Century, *i. e.*, between the years 884 and 893, that Ireland was visited by the pilgrim Ananloen, from Jerusalem, who "came to Ireland with the epistle which had been given from Heaven at Jerusalem, with the Sunday Law and good instructions," or as the Ulster annalist has it, "with forfeiture for breaking of the Saboth day, and many more other good instructions." Such a visitant, living nine years in the country, at a time when the work of restoration was being carried on, might naturally introduce some foreign element into the architecture of Ireland. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 537-551.

⁴ *Dict. de l'Architecture françaises*, Viollet le Duc, vol. iii. p. 286, 288.

that type which rises into the spire. The first is not seen in Ireland at an early date; the second, when round, generally stands alone. On the Continent, the tall church tower, whether round or square, is also occasionally detached, as at Pisa, but is generally at the corner of a lofty church, such as St. Maurice and St. Geneviève. Only the oldest and simplest type of such belfries ever reached Ireland and Scotland. The round tower with conical top was a common form in the earliest periods of Christian architecture, and is often represented in early bas-reliefs, illuminated MSS., and frescoes, and such is the form of the watch-tower of the feudal abbey as well as castle. The circular form seems to be the first chosen in all primitive buildings, and the conical roof is the simplest covering for such that can be erected. The churches of Ireland, being but the size of an ordinary cottage of the present day, never could have supported the weight of a tower of 100 feet in height, and would always seem out of proportion to it; but when a watch-tower and keep for the monastery became necessary, when war and rapine called forth the symbol of



CHURCHES AND TOWERS AS REPRESENTED BY FRESCO PAINTERS AND ILLUMINATORS
OF THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

faith and power in Irish Christian architecture, the lofty stronghold, bearing its cross on high, was erected in the cemetery, and near the doorway of the church.

It has been already observed by Dr. Petrie, that the term *Cloicthech* (bell-house) was used by early Irish writers synonymously with that of "a keep," and did not merely convey the ideas that we now associate with church belfries. Thus, in the following passage from an ancient Irish translation of a life of Charlemagne, preserved in the Book of Lismore, we read, "The earl and his wife fled into the desert valleys and into solitary woods, and made for themselves a cloicthech, in which they slept, through fear of the many monsters of the forest." Again, the strong association in the minds of the primitive Irish

a, b, i. Peintures à fresque de St. Laurent hors de murs de Rome.

c, d, e. Peintures à fresque du portique de l'église de trois fontaines près de Rome.

f. MS. Grec. bibl. Vatican, VII. siècle.

g. MS. Grec. Vienne, IV^e ou V^e siècle. *h.* Miniatures from the bible of St. Paul, Ninth Century. *i, j.* Latin MS.

k. French MS. Tenth Century. See *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*, par L. G. Seroux d'Agincourt, Tome 5^{ième}, Pl. xix., xcvi., xcix.

of the idea of pride and power with such structures, as well as the interchange of the word *cloicthech* and tower, is strikingly exemplified in the following passage:¹ "Great indeed was the pride, vanity, and pomp of this sensual king; for it is he who performed an act of pride, such as was never accomplished before, *i. e.* he erected for himself a tower of bright silver; and great was the size, and breadth, and height of that tower, which was higher than all the other houses of the town, being a bright lofty *cloicthech*."

The manuscripts from which these passages are taken are all subsequent to the tenth century; and here again it is well to insist upon the fact that the annalists do not record the existence of these buildings, or refer to them in any way before the year 950. In the wars with the Norsemen from 789 to 845, it is said that the "secular and regular clergy, in order to shelter themselves from the fury of the Normans, lay concealed in the woods, where they celebrated the divine mysteries, and spent their days in prayer and fasting;" but in the year 950, and for two centuries later, we read of the *cloicthech* as a special object of attack to the Norsemen. Slane and Trim are described as "filled with unfortunate people who had fled thither for safety," or as the monastic keep, in which the "distinguished persons, among whom was the lector of the abbey," had concealed themselves. From the table given in the Appendix, which contains all the references to these towers that the writer has been able to glean from the Irish Annals, it will appear that the compilers do not mention the word *cloicthech*, or bell-house, before the year 950,² and that where the uses of these buildings are incidentally alluded to they are invariably spoken of as monastic keeps would be, *i. e.*, as places of protection and refuge. The word occurs, besides, in three ancient manuscripts, the date of which is uncertain: 1st. A poem preserved in the Book of Leinster, which work was compiled by a bishop of Kildare, who died in the year 1160. 2nd. The ancient life of Christ, which is preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, a compilation made about the close of the fourteenth century. 3rd. A tract of the Brehon Laws, called "*Seanchus beag*," preserved in the Book of Lecan, a work compiled in the year 1416 by Gilla Isa Mor. These tracts of course belonged to an earlier period than that of the compilers of the works in which they are found, but their date cannot be fixed in the present state of our knowledge. The first passage alluded to as found in the Book of Leinster, is as follows:—

"He who commits a theft,
It will be grievous to thee
If he obtains his protection
In the house of a king or of a bell."³

¹ This passage occurs in an ancient tract in the *Leabhar Breac*, and the king referred to is there named *Castroe*, king of the Medes and Persians.

² All the entries regarding these towers which the editor has succeeded in finding are given in a table in the Appendix, so that the reader may see at a glance what amount of light the native records of the country cast upon the question as to the uses and date of these buildings. The oldest transcript that we have of the Annals was made in the year 1416. It is a short tract preserved in the great Book of Lecan, now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. See O'Curry's *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 130.

³ "Cipe do gne in ngat
Bid mor a mela duit,
Mad dia fagha a din
I tig ri'g no cluic."

This allusion to a bell-house as a place of refuge is found in a poem said to have been composed on the occasion of the inauguration of Aedh Oirdnidhe in the year 799.

The second passage alluded to is that quoted by Dr. Petrie at page 378 of his work, which occurs in an old life of Christ, in relation to the star that guided the Eastern kings to Bethlehem:—"The star" came afterwards a journey of the twelve months in twelve days, and it was higher than a *cloithech* before us." The third instance where the word occurs has been already quoted at page 167 of this volume. Another reference to belfries, in the life of St. Moling, preserved in the Book of Leinster, has been held to prove that such buildings existed in the lifetime of that saint, *i.e.*, in the seventh century;¹ whereas it can only be taken as evidence that the writer of that work, who may have lived in the twelfth century, was familiar with such structures, or at all events that they existed before the date at which the Book of Leinster was compiled.

Till the invasions of the Northmen the Irish ecclesiastic possessed his church and school in comparative peace, and the wall that encircled the groups of cells and oratories which formed their monasteries was deemed security enough for him, as for the Egyptian monk in his laura; but in the year 800 all was changed; the attempted colonization of Ireland by a pagan invader, resolved to extirpate² the Christianity which he found there, and to establish the national heathenism of his own country, called forth the resistant spirit of the Irish monk, who protected his humble cell by means of the lofty tower.³

In the accompanying map an effort has been made to mark out the course of the Norse invasions in Ireland before the tenth century; the red lines mark the course taken by the invaders, and the churches attacked—many of them persistently and repeatedly—by these heathen warriors. The black circle stands for the round tower, and it would appear that the churches protected by such buildings were those situated in places that had in the first instance proved most liable to attack. They are along the coast and in the valleys of the rivers most infested by the enemy. Before the year 900 the Norsemen

¹ See Petrie's *Eccl. Architecture*, p. 393, Trans. R. I. A. vol. xx.

² See *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*.

³ "The Danes also contributed to keep alive this military feature of Irish monasticism, for although they were too formidable to admit of any organized resistance, they afforded occasional opportunities for desultory retaliation, and after accustoming all classes to deeds of blood, they gradually broke down among the original inhabitants the veneration which was entertained for religious objects and institutions, introducing their sentiments in proportion as they became intermingled with the natives, till it was no uncommon thing for an Irish chieftain to be styled the waster of churches, or for the adventurous population of one province to plunder the churches in another. Amidst all those scenes, the steeples, which we commonly call Round Towers, rendered to the monasteries the most essential service, being places of refuge in the hour of peril, and affording an asylum for a large number, while they presented the least possible surface for assault. In fact the Round Towers are, in their anomalous proportions, standing memorials of an anomalous Church. . . . In succeeding centuries stone buildings being of rare occurrence, churches were often turned into places of defence, and were frequented not only by those who sought to deprecate the wrath of Heaven, but by those who hoped to escape the rage of man. It was thus that John de Courcy sustained a check from the monastery of Erynagh, when he was mastering Lecale, and afterwards transferred its family to Inch, because it had been 'a fortress against him.' So also when Edward Bruce was spreading desolation throughout the same territory, the church of Bricht, full of men and women, was burned by him."—Note by Dr. Reeves in his *Additional Notes to Primate Colton's Visitation*, A.D. 1397, pp. 98, 99. Trans. Irish Archl. Society.

had first ravaged the coast and the outlying islands, and then their boats repeatedly were seen on the Boyne, the Liffey, and the Shannon, while the principal lakes in which their fleets were stationed were Loch Foyle, Loch Neagh, Loch Ree, and Loch Derg. Distinct groups of these towers and churches are to be seen in the valleys of these rivers that had been for the first seventy years of this war attacked and desecrated with such unparalleled fury. They were also raised in regular lines along the coast from Galway to the Shannon, and from Cape Clear to Waterford.

If we take all those towers which appear to have fallen at an early date, and place them besides those we have classified as apparently first built, it will be found that they belong to the churches first and most persistently attacked by the Northmen in the ninth century. The towers of Ardbrackan, Armagh, Louth, and Slane, were the first to fall, and are the first alluded to in the Annals. Erected possibly by men inexperienced in raising such lofty buildings, their fall was probably due to some imperfection in their construction or insecurity in their foundation. The three last are situated exactly in those places which the King's Malachy or Flann would have been most likely to fortify in the first instance. We have already alluded to the position held by Armagh as the principal ecclesiastical city of Ireland, and it was probably on this account that it was so persistently ravaged. The church was attacked three times in one month in the year 832 by the Northmen, and the same invaders repeated their acts of desecration in the years 839, 850, 873, 876, 890, 893, 895, 898, 914, 919, 926, 931, 943, 995, 1012, 1016.¹

When contemplating these dates alone, two impressions are strongly borne in upon the mind: 1st, that the invader could not in all cases have been actuated by a desire for plunder; 2nd, that with the defenders some strong motive was at work, which led them so persistently to restore that which their enemies as persistently destroyed. Even supposing the monasteries to have been as rich as those on the Continent of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, yet it is not to be believed that the invaders could have found fresh treasures at every attack; but there is no evidence to prove such wealth, and anything that does remain to us of the goldsmith's art in the early part of the tenth century is not an object to excite the cupidity of an untrained Viking at all so much as the diadem or golden torc or horse trappings they could only hope to find in the forts of chieftains, not in the humble churches of the saints. The ineradicable tenacity with which the defenders held to these little spots of ground, and the unconquerable will with which they restored these places when laid waste, sprang from a deep-seated impulse, perhaps more connected with the cemetery than with the church itself. "The value," says Dr. Petrie, set upon these cemeteries, "is of very early antiquity, and like that attached to Iona, arose out of a belief in the power which the patron saint's intercession would have with the Deity on the last day." Here their founder, the head of their clan, of whom their bishops were the spiritual heirs, had himself reached "his place of resurrection," and in the minds of this simple people he still remained as a chieftain in heaven to lead his clansmen on. This passionate attachment

¹ The church of Maghera was also attacked three times in one month, the church of Ardhrackan in the years 886, 949, 992. Clonard, the seat of one of the great schools of Ireland, was invaded in the years 838, 887, 888, 996, 1012, 1016, 1020, and so on.

to their graveyards gave rise to the desire of providing them with a strong and permanent protection; and thus we read of Saba, Queen of Donatus, son of Flann Sinna, that when in the year 916 she visited Seir Kieran, she desired to have the church surrounded by a wall, as, she said, was then the case with "each of the most celebrated churches of Ireland." The passage is as follows:—

"Afterwards Donatus, son of Flann of the Shannon, was raised to the government of the kingdom. He had for his wife Saba, daughter of Donat, son of Cellach, ruler of Ossory, by whose earnest entreaties he was induced to gird Saighir with a wall; for she bore with difficulty that while each of the most celebrated churches of Ireland was surrounded by a wall, the place where her forefathers were committed to the grave should want defence and ornament. So, therefore, numbers of workmen were sent from Meath, and they carry on the work."¹

Clonmacnois and Armagh were the two ecclesiastical cities of Ireland, and the intercourse between the former and the court of Charlemagne has already been alluded to. It is a significant fact, that the first name mentioned in the annals of a builder of one of these towers, in 964, should be that of an abbot of Clonmacnois,² Cormac O'Cillen. The next builder named in any authentic history is the good king Brian Boruma (of the Tribute), who succeeded his brother Mahon as king of Munster in 976. He is stated, as Dr. Petrie has already shown, to have erected no less than thirty-two of these structures.

"By him were founded cells and churches and were made stone houses, bell-houses (acus cloictigi), and wood houses in it" [Ireland]. . . . "It is Brian that gave out seven monasteries, both furniture and cattle and land, and thirty two bell-houses (acus dá cloicteac tricat)."

Thirdly, another group of these towers is found to belong to the time of Donogh O'Carroll, Prince of Oriel, whose "splendour and magnificence are extolled by the annalists, and who is said to have bestowed 300 oz. of gold upon clerics and churches. He died A.D. 1170.³ In his time "churches were founded and temples and bell-houses (cloictigi) were made, and the monasteries of monks and canons and nuns were re-edified."

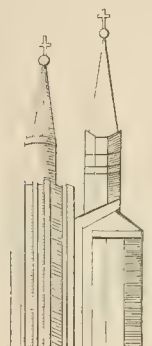
Thus we find three distinct periods to which these towers may be assigned: first, from A.D. 890 to 927; secondly, from 973 to 1013; thirdly, from 1170 to 1238; and of these three periods the first two were marked by a cessation of hostilities with the Norsemen,

¹ From an ancient fragment, supposed to be a part of MacLiag's Life of Brian, library of Trinity Coll. Dublin.

² Annals of Clonmacnois, translated by Macgeoghegan.

³ "*Kalend. Januar. . v. feria, x. Anno Domini m.c.lxx.* A prayer for Donnchadh O'Carrol, Supreme King of Airghiall, by whom were made the book of Cnoc-na n-Apstal at Louth, and the chief books of the order of the year and the chief books of the mass. It was this great king who founded the entire monastery both [as to] stone and wood, and gave territory and land to it, for the prosperity of his soul, in honor of [SS.] Paul and Peter. By him the Church throughout the land of Airghiall was reformed, and a regular bishoprick was made, and the church was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop. In his time tithes were received, and the marriage ceremony was assented to, and churches were founded, and temples and bell-houses (cloictigi) were made, and monasteries of monks and canons and nuns were re-edified, and nemheds were made. These are especially the works which he

and were occupied by the Irish in energetic efforts to repair the mischief caused by the invasions of the heathen. It is clear that these three divisions are distinctly marked by three steps in the progressive ascent of architecture from the primitive form of the entablature to that of the Decorated Romanesque arch. The churches built by Cormac O'Cillen are characterized by the horizontal lintel; the church of King Brian at Iniscaltra, which, while retaining the rude form in its minor apertures, marks a period of transition in its still partially developed Romanesque doorway and chancel arch; and the buildings of Queen Dervorgilla and Turlough O'Conor show what was the style in the lifetime of Donough O'Carroll. If Lusk, Glendalough, Timahoe, and Ardmore are taken as types of



CHURCH OF CHARLEMAGNE AT AIX. ANCIENT SEAL.



CHURCH ON CAPITAL IN ST. SAUVEUR, NEVERS.

this gradation in the towers, we see the signs of such progress as lead to the belief that a certain interval of time had intervened between the first and last-mentioned of these erections.

There is another point which should not be passed unnoticed—that in the towers belonging to the Romanesque period, such as Ardmore, the apertures at the top are either larger or more numerous, the walls are decorated with bands and mouldings; and such features may suggest that when the attacks of the heathen on their sanctuaries were at an end, although the tower was established as a feature in Irish ecclesiastical architecture, the form had begun to undergo such modifications as, in course of time, might develop into a

performed for the prosperity [of his soul] and reign, in the land of Airghiall, namely, the monastery^a of monks on the bank of the Boyne [both as to] stone and wooden furniture, and books, and territory, and land, in which [monastery] there are one hundred monks and three hundred conventuals, and the monastery of canons of Termonn Feichin and the monastery of nuns and the great church of Termonn Feichin, and the church of Lepadh Feichin and the church of" This entry is found in an ancient Antiphonarium, formerly belonging to the Cathedral Church of Armagh, but now preserved in Ussher's Coll. of MSS. (Class B, Tab. 1, No. 1), Library of Trin. Coll. Dublin.

^a Mellifont Abbey. See Ann. Four Mast. 1189.

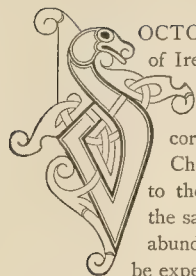
work of greater beauty. The campanile of Ireland was passing through such transitions as seem to foretell the advent of a type that would have added to its strength and power, the loveliness of wisely ordered decoration, and have lightened its blind walls in storied arches, and opened its bell-chamber so that its music, no longer imprisoned, might sound forth, and the reserved, self-centred, and resistant character of the tower that had risen in time of persecution, firm in the face of the infidel, might have broken its hard outline into softer forms of varying beauty under the influence of peace.

"There is perhaps no question of early Christian archæology," writes Mr. Fergusson, "involved in so much obscurity as that of the introduction and early use of towers." The difficulty of clearing away such obscurities has arisen chiefly from the want of monuments remaining on the Continent to show what were the earliest types in Western Europe. The light that Ireland might cast upon the subject has not yet made itself felt, because of the uncertainty that has too long lingered about the history of her towers. Dr. Petrie, by his investigations, brought their date down from a pre-Christian time to a period ranging from the sixth to the thirteenth century, and firmly established their ecclesiastical character. Lord Dunraven traced the type from Ireland through France to Ravenna, thereby proving them analogous to buildings that belonged to an historic period elsewhere. But he felt that the area was far too wide over which Dr. Petrie had extended the practice of erecting these structures, and was gradually arriving at the conclusion that such masonry as they exhibit was not to be found in Ireland before the ninth or tenth centuries, and that her Decorated Romanesque churches belong to the eleventh and twelfth. Starting from the standpoint of these two archæologists, we may arrive at conclusions which give to these noble monuments their true place in history. From them the historian of Christian Art and Architecture may learn something of the works of a time the traces of which have been swept away elsewhere, and it may yet be seen, as in the case of her institutions,¹ customs, faith, and forms in art, so in architecture, Ireland points to origins of noble things.

¹ *Revue Celtique*, vol. iii. No. 9, p. 105.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE ROMANESQUE OF IRELAND.



DOCTOR PETRIE has observed,¹ when treating of the ornamented churches of Ireland, that the "style of architecture variously denominated by antiquaries Romanesque, Tudesque, Lombardic, Saxon, Norman, and Anglo-Norman, belongs to no particular country, but, derived from the corrupted architecture of Greece and Rome, was introduced wherever Christianity had penetrated—assuming various modifications according to the taste, intelligence, and circumstances of different nations,"² and the same writer adds that it need not "be a matter of wonder that more abundant examples of this style, though on a small scale—such as might be expected in a kingdom composed of many petty and nearly independent lordships—should remain in Ireland, than in those more prosperous and wealthy countries, in which such humble structures would necessarily give place to edifices of greater size and grandeur."

We may learn more fully in the writings of Mr. Freeman³ how from the primitive Romanesque style, which was common to all Western Christendom, local forms were gradually developed in Italy, Aquitaine, Northern Gaul, Germany, England, and Ireland, "as national speech is developed from the Roman tongue."

Edward the Confessor is recorded to have rebuilt Westminster Abbey in the year 1066.⁴ This event marks the introduction of the Romanesque of Normandy into England. Fifty-eight years before, the little church of St. Caimin, of Iniscealtra,⁵ was built by King Brian Boruma, and this building marks the transition to the enriched round arch style of Ireland. Then it was that the Romanesque wave passed direct from Normandy into Ireland. It appears that at this period in England a primitive Romanesque style already prevailed, which, though it has been termed Anglo-Saxon, was of purely Italian origin. This early style modified the character of that which in the reign of Edward the Confessor came as a fresh importation from Normandy, and to this source may be traced whatever distinctive features separate English Norman from that of Normandy itself. In Ireland, as we learn from such buildings as the churches of Maghera,⁶ Banagher,⁶ Temple Martin,⁷ and Temple Cronan,⁸ a distinct style also prevailed at the time in which

¹ Petrie, *Eccles. Arch. Trans.* R. I. A. vol. xx. p. 238.

² See *Hist. of Architecture*, chap. ix. p. 195, *Historical and Architectural Sketches*. Norman Conquest, Chapter on Primitive Romanesque, vol. v. p. 602.

³ Little now remains of the work of this period in the abbey.

⁴ See Plates XCVII. and XCVIII. and drawing of doorway, p. 55 *supra*.

⁵ See Vol. I. p. 115.

⁶ Plate LX.

⁷ Vol. I. p. 105.

⁸ Plates LIV. LV. and plate facing p. 106.

the Romanesque of Normandy was introduced there. Rude as many of its examples are, this primitive architecture still had sufficient character and vitality to modify the incoming Norman, to live on, and make itself visible in the fresh forms engrafted upon it. The style in Ireland of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is an Irish Romanesque style, and the peculiarities by which it is distinguished are rooted in and spring from the primitive erections of the fort builders and early Christian missionaries, characterized by the horizontal lintel or the entablature seen in the first buildings of all countries, and which may be termed the architecture of necessity.

It now remains for us to examine what are the points about the Romanesque churches of Ireland which give it this native and distinctive character. They are—

- 1st. Their simple ground plan and diminutive size.
- 2nd. Their rich and delicate decoration.



DOORWAY, KILMALKEDAR.

3rd. The lingering of horizontal forms and the incorporation of such in the round arch style.

4th. The retention of the inclined jambs of the primitive doors.

5th. The constant use of certain ornamental designs characteristic of the late Celtic period which had been common to Britain and Ireland before the Roman occupation of Britain.

The reason why the Irish Church persevered in the erection of such small buildings as places of worship may be sought for in the character of the Church system itself. The larger diocesan system, which demanded vast buildings, such as the Norman cathedrals of England, for meetings and ceremonials, did not then prevail in Ireland. The spirit

of clanship pervaded the Church, and this spirit, as Dr. Todd has observed, is the key to all Irish history. The Church was composed of small independent families, each honouring its bishop as its chieftain, and holding him to be the spiritual heir and living representative of the founder of the particular church to which they belonged, and the centralization of a less primitive condition was unknown to them. Then, as at the time of transition to Romanesque, there was no corresponding change in the Church system of Ireland, so her ecclesiastics went on erecting buildings, small in size and simple in plan, though rich in decorative detail.

Mr. Freeman observes, in a letter to Lord Dunraven on this subject, that he has noticed in all Romanesque buildings that the larger the scale the plainer the work. "So," he adds, "I should be quite prepared to find very small buildings, like yours in Ireland, much richer than larger ones. Observe that in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, the fashion of building churches on the enormous scale of Winchester and St. Alban's never came in. The largest buildings, as at Dublin, St. David's, and Glasgow, rank only with the second class in England and France;" and he adds, "and I should expect a greater degree of richness in the Irish buildings, simply on the ground of their very small scale. I am convinced that in England, in Romanesque churches, the larger the buildings are, the plainer they are—that the main difference introduced by the Norman conquest was a vast increase of scale, and, consequently, a diminution of ornament; in our few Old English buildings we find a sort of barbaric attempt at richness quite unlike the plainness of the early Norman."

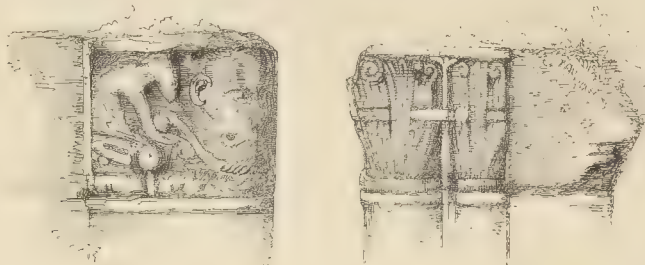
Although the mouldings and ornament with which the doorways and other apertures of these Irish churches are enriched resemble Norman work, yet a careful examination of the construction of these features will show peculiarities belonging to a system different from that of the Romanesque of England or Normandy. Thus the Norman door is



CAPITALS IN THE SAINTS CHURCH, INCHAGOILE.

composed of round arches, which spring from a series of separate columns forming the sides of the entrance. The arches or orders of the Irish door spring more directly from the sides, inclining towards it from the base. The columns at the sides of the

Norman doorway stand forth boldly, each rising from a broad and well defined base, and crowned by its own individual capital. The sides of the Irish doorway are but a transitional stage between the jambs of a square-headed doorway and actual shafts. The angular sides of the three or four orders are rounded off and channelled into groups



CAPITALS IN CLONALTIN CHURCH.

of bowtels, with merely slight projections at the feet, scarcely to be termed bases; and, instead of separate capitals to each, a single entablature unites the whole, often terminating at the angles with heads of a strikingly archaic character. The doorways of Rahen,¹ Killeslin, Queen Dervorgilla's church, Clonfert, and the chancel arch of Tuam afford fine examples of such forms. The archaic character of the entablatures, mouldings, and capitals is shown in the accompanying drawings of Mr. W. G. Wakeman, from the churches of Inchagoile and Trinity Island, on Lough Corrib. The capitals of this period are always cushion or bell-shaped, and their rounded surfaces are often decorated, as in the example from Banagher Church, with the convolutions of the divergent spiral design, and

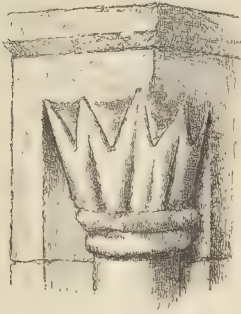


CAPITAL IN BANAGHER CHURCH.

often, as seen in the old church of Trim, assuming the more complex forms resulting "from the division of the bell by recesses into separate lobes or leaves, like those of a rose or tulip." Fig. *e* shows a section of one of the capitals in Cormac's Chapel. The bases are remarkably shallow, and, indeed, scarcely deserving of the name where, in some instances, they only serve as a termination for the groups of bowtels which form the

¹ See piers of chancel arch, Rahen, p. 65, and Plates CII. CIX. CXIII. CXIV. CXVI. CXVII.

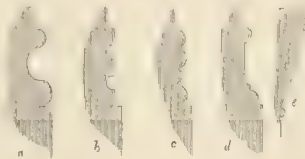
jamb. They often consist of two rounds and an intermediate square or hollow, but seldom stand forward on a square projecting pedestal or plinth. Where such do occur, as at Killeshin, Clonmacnois, and Rahen, they show that beautiful feature of leaves



CAPITAL IN CHURCH AT TRIM.

connecting the bulbous portions with the square plinths at the angles.¹

A very peculiar character is given to the round arch doorways of these churches by inclined jambs, and the widening of the doorway at the base. It would seem as if the inclined sides of Maghera doorway, encrusted with ornament so as to resemble a page in one of the illuminated MSS. of the Celtic school carved and wrought in stone, had developed themselves into the jambs of a doorway of the later churches, and these jambs are either angular or channelled into bowtels with their angles rounded off. This singularity must be a traditional form handed down from the earliest and rudest style of building, when the simple method of forming an aperture was to erect two stones or logs of wood on end, and connect them by a horizontal lintel.



SECTIONS OF BASES, CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

It has been already remarked that an entablature runs along the tops of the semi-columns, from which the arches spring, and this forms a kind of horizontal band connecting them; thus here the expression of horizontal extension is still the lingering idea, and this, we repeat, is the singularity in Irish architecture which stamps it with sufficient individuality to give it a place as a distinct variety of primitive Romanesque.² There

¹ Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. p. 131.

² Such clinging to and retention of ancient forms may also be traced in the architecture of Italy, where it is shown by the reluctance men had, boldly to set the arch upon the capital of the column, and their tendency always to thrust in some fragment, as it were, of the entablature which would come between the abacus of the capital and the impost of the arch. In the basilicas of Ravenna there does not seem to be one case where the arch comes down immediately on the Ionic or Corinthian capital; there is always a member thrust in, one which wants a name, and which has been termed *stilt*. This same tendency to retain the entablature is shown in the side walls and doorways of the Church of St. Gilles, in Languedoc, built in the year 1116, when, even then, the Provençal

is a great variety in the appearance of the masonry in these churches, some presenting a much more massive and antique character than others. It must not, therefore, be concluded that they are older, for much depends on the nature and durability of the stone of which they are built, which, except in the case of the Saints' Church in Lough Corrib, is always the stone found in the neighbouring district. Sandstone is the material most commonly used. The free working nature of this stone, rendering it peculiarly suited to buildings which were to be enriched with sculptured ornament, gave it favour in the eyes of Irish as well as Norman builders, but then this stone varies in quality in different districts, and while the sandstone found in the neighbourhood of Killaloe, Iniscealtra, and

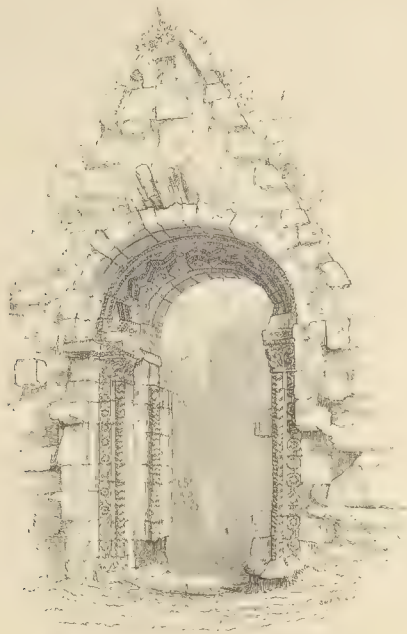


DOORWAY OF CHURCH, WHITE ISLAND, LOUGH DERG.

Ardfert, is fine-grained quartzose sandstone of a very durable nature, that used in St. Cronan's Church, at Roscrea, and elsewhere, is coarse-grained, and easily disintegrates when exposed to the action of weather. Again, the primitive character of the masonry of Rahen small church is perhaps deceptive, for this church is built in a district where there is no sandstone at hand, but where limestone is the rock which abounds, and the walls are formed of huge boulders and rubble, cemented with ordinary mortar. In some instances there is a combination of rough rubble masonry and ashlar work in the same building, and

architect had not quite cast the entablature aside, but clothed it in a Romanesque form, and made it subordinate to the main design. "All these things," adds Mr. Freeman, "point to an indigenous style, and to a feeling, with regard to classical art, very different from blind imitation or retention. It is an endeavour to retain certain forms which are felt to be graceful, and yet to keep them in their proper relation to others which it was felt must be predominant." *History of Architecture*, p. 222.

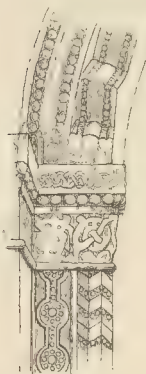
even in the same wall. At Iniscealtra the difference between the nave, which is built in rough irregular courses, cemented with grouting, and the chancel, which is fine-jointed ashlar, is so striking that it is difficult to believe them to be the work of the same period, but at Tomgraney the lower part of the wall is of fine ashlar, and above it rough rubble work, and stones laid in irregular courses are seen. The oldest masonry in the walls of Aghadoe consists of large blocks of stone, with oblique joints, and not regularly squared. Of herring-bone masonry only four examples have been found, and it is remarkable that they belong to work which is manifestly of widely differing periods, the first observed being in



ST. FARANNAN'S CHURCH, DONOUGHMORE.

the side-wall of the little oratory in Illauntannig, built of stones fitted without cement; the second in the oldest portion of the church of Killadreenan, in the County of Wicklow, and in the Cashel at Rathmichael; and the last in the round tower of Temple Finghin, Clonmacnois, the roof of which is of herring-bone ashlar. The masonry used by the ancients, and described by Vitruvius as common in the first century of the Christian era, that is the "opus reticulatum," so called from its net-like appearance, which is formed of squared stones laid diagonally, is never found in Ireland. Long and short work, so generally used in England in forming quoins at the angles of churches, has been observed

in such a position in the church of Kilnaboy, in Clare, and in the oldest church at Monasterboice, but generally appears in the sides of the doorways and windows.



MOULDINGS OF DOORWAY,
ST. FARANNAN'S CHURCH.

The bold and lofty system of stone roofing adopted in the churches of St. Flannan, King Cormac, and St. Douglough, was evidently an original conception in Ireland, which the Irish builders were enabled to carry to perfection after the knowledge of the true arch had been introduced. Fourteen buildings may be enumerated which show the gradual progress in this style of roofing, beginning with the oratories of Kilmalkedar, Gallarus, and Inis-mac-Dara, and the well of Tober-nadru, near Freshford, in which no knowledge of the true arch is evinced, and the roof is single. The second group includes the church on Friar's Island, St. Kevin's Church, Taghmun, and St. Columba's house, at Kells, where the roof is double, and though the outer pointed arch is still constructed on the primitive system, yet it is supported by a round barrel vault which is formed as a true radiating arch. There is no example of a double-roofed building before this introduction of the knowledge of the arch. The slates of the outer roof are dressed to the rake of the roof outside and inside, and the roofing stones laid at an angle to throw off the moisture. In St. Kevin's Kitchen such roofing is first seen in company with a rough moulding, and an east window with regular voussours in the inner arch. In the third and last group the false arch is no longer seen, but the round barrel vault is superimposed by the pointed barrel vault, both built on the regular arch principle; the process



ARCADE WEST FROM ARDMORE.

of transition to which is seen in the upper roof of St. Columba's cell, while St. Mochta's, in Louth, St. Flannan's, St. Farannan's, at Donoughmore, the Sacristy of the Cathedral at

Clonmacnois, Cormac's Chapel, St. Saviour's, at Glendalough, and St. Doulough's, all offer examples of this last and most perfect system of stone roofing.

These buildings are invested with a peculiar interest from the fact that they were not only places of worship, but also dwelling-houses, the habitable portion being over the stone-roofed chancel, to which access was gained from the body of the church by one of three different methods. The first and most primitive, as in St. Kevin's, by a ladder from the body of the church through a hole in the ceiling of the lower story, which hole is afterwards replaced by a doorway over the choir arch, as at Donoughmore, and then a winding staircase, either in the wall, as at St. Saviour's, or in a side tower or turret which leads to the chamber above, as in Cormac's Chapel. At a later date a small portion of the west of the building has been constructed to answer all the purposes of a dwelling-house, which was evidently separated from the sacred portion of the structure by a wooden



ARDMORE.

partition, or possibly thin wall, and divided by a wooden floor into a basement and upper story. A staircase in the thickness of the wall leads to a doorway which opened to the chamber on the upper floor. This peculiarity is to be seen in the church of St. Catherine, in the County of Wexford, and the old church of Castle Gregory, in the county of Kerry, and a fortified church at Clonmines, on the coast of Wexford. The arcades with which the walls of these buildings were in many instances enriched are best illustrated in the churches of Kilmalkedar, King Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, Ardmore, and Ardfert. They consist of a series of round-headed arches supported by columns or piers closed with masonry. No example of an open arcade has been found in an Irish Romanesque church. The three first mentioned form a sequence showing certain points in development. The first consists of six sunken panels divided by rounded semi-columns, with scalloped capitals and moulded bases; in the second the columns are connected, and the panels enclosed by a series of round-headed arches. These arches in the lower story of Cormac's Chapel are enriched with chevron mouldings, and the square piers, carved in diapers and various chequered patterns, are delightful in the effect of alternating light and shade. In the third, that on the west wall of Ardmore, the arches spring from very slender shafts,

with capitals and bases, and the panels are no longer blank spaces, but filled in with sculptured figures—either one or two in each panel, carved in low relief. Such arcades are among the most interesting signs of growth in Irish architecture: the walls are no longer blank or silent spaces, but speak of human histories. In the larger semicircular panels the subjects introduced are the "Temptation"—a warrior with his shouldered lance in the act of kneeling for the blessing of a bishop who stands above him—"The Judgment of Solomon," and the "Dedication of the Temple."

Pilaster buttresses are often seen at the corners of the east and west ends of these churches, but in the most beautifully finished examples, such as the small church at Ardfer, Mona Incha, and the chancel of Tomgraney, these give place to beautifully proportioned columns, on which, in the first case mentioned, an enriched cornice, which crowns the side-walls of the church, is seen to rest. These quoin shafts are three-quarter columns, with moulded bases and carved capitals, and give a classic character to the building.¹

The positions afforded for the introduction of ornament in these small buildings are the chancel arches, windows, arcades, quoins, cornices, and doorways, with or without canopies. On these portions of the building all the decorative designs of the native school are lavished. The use of roll and other sectional mouldings is more common than is usual in early Norman work, a peculiarity which is shared with the primitive Romanesque of England.

The love of incised surface mouldings, giving the face of the stones an effect of delicate and beautiful engraving, is another striking characteristic of Irish architectural decoration, and the use of such ornament is very common throughout the country in the borders and crosses of the sepulchral slabs of the 9th and 10th centuries. Then, as in the windows of Annadown² and Rahen,³ borders of chevron, bead, and even foliate patterns are carved in very low relief, as exquisitely felt in their treatment as they are gracefully conceived. Some mouldings which very rarely occur in England and France are more common in Ireland—such as the battlement, which is also found at Iffley, and the interrupted chevron, which occurs in the church of Grand Maladerie, near Caen. The occurrence in Ireland of such mouldings as are common to Romanesque architecture in other parts of Western Europe does not deprive her architecture of any of its archaic and national character. The illuminated pages of her sacred writings are, as it were, the precursors of her decorated churches, and all the designs of Celtic art given by the pencil in them are carved by the chisel on her stone monuments. To both may be applied the following remarks, made by Waagen⁴ on the work of the Celtic scribes alone:—"The ornamented pages, borders, and initial letters exhibit so correct an architectural feeling in the distribution of the parts, such a rich variety of beautiful and peculiar designs, so admirable a taste in the arrangement of the colours, and such an uncommon perfection of finish, that one feels absolutely struck with amazement."

All comparative study of national and primitive forms of decorative art seems to show

¹ The illustrations of this beautiful feature in the Irish church, prepared for this work, were unfortunately mislaid while this volume was in the press. See Brash, *Eccl. Arch.* pl. xiv. fig. 4.

² Plate CXXV.

³ Plate facing page 64.

⁴ *German Art Journal*, No. 11.

that such distinctive terms as *Runic* and *Celtic* applied to interlaced patterns, knots, and fretwork, have been too confidently used. Such designs are found in archaic art in most parts of the world, and still appear in the native work of Japan¹ and India. There are, however, two designs which seem to be specially characteristic of Celtic art; these are a peculiar development of the double spiral line, totally unknown to the Greeks, the Etruscans, and to the nations of the Teutonic race, which is essentially characteristic, not only of the Scoto-Celtic, but the Britanno-Celtic populations of these islands. This



is termed the Divergent Spiral or Trumpet pattern, and its appearance in the art of Ireland, from the bronze works of the early Celtic period found in the stone tombs of a pre-historic age to the capitals of Cormac's Chapel, stamps the architecture of Ireland with a distinctive native character. Living on in Ireland when it had died out elsewhere, this design

¹ See My Circular Notes, J. F. Campbell, vol. i. p. 345. Alluding to the appearance of such designs—Japanese art—Mr. Campbell observes: "Such designs also occur in Icelandic carvings, on certain rare kinds of pottery, in Byzantine churches, and on Persian bronzes;" and adds that, "community of design in basket-work, and in arts derived from baskets, either points to community of origin for Celts and Japanese, or to a common nature in humanity which arrives independently at the same inventions by following the same steps."

in course of time appears upon her buildings. It is, as it were, the fine and slender thread that binds Irish Christian with Pagan art, and in slow voluminous curves

"Of still expanding, still ascending gyres"

leads the mind back to a period, long ages past, when, perhaps, one race inhabited these islands, and Britanno-Celtic and Scoto-Celtic art were one.

The appearance of such archaic and native forms in design is not, however, the strongest mark of the individuality of Irish decorative art, since they are seen very frequently in Scotland and the North of England. It is in the delicacy of treatment, and the judgment shown in the use of ornament, that the mind of the Irish artist is revealed. Patience and conscience had brought his hand by slow and toilsome steps to such high skill, that the result was the true work, which is the expression of the keen sense that alone creates a perfect touch;¹ while, in the application of such ornament, he never lost sight of the principle that decoration is beautiful only when found in its right place, and adding to the effect of the fundamental form to be adorned. In other words, that it should be held in subordination and subjection to the primary idea, and a noble reserve of power be evidenced till it comes forth at the right time, and in the right place, to aid in the expression of the essential elements of the subject, emphasizing its important points, and adding clearness to the beauty of its outline.²

The slow and steady progress in such qualities of mind, and the gradual growth from the rude forms of a primitive art to this matured expression of a sense of beauty, may be traced in the progress of art in Ireland from the first centuries of the Christian era to that of Ireland in the eleventh century. In metal work and sculpture, as in architecture, such change is observable. The workmanship of the silversmith who painfully and faithfully wrought the minute work of the shrines of St. Moedoc and St. Molaise is excelled in freedom and grace by the artists of the Ardagh Chalice and the Cross of Cong, where skill at last becomes secondary to the expression of the sense of beauty.

The period at which this enriched Romanesque style prevailed in Ireland can only be determined by reference to those few examples, the dates of which have been fixed by historical evidence. They are given in a chronological table in the appendix to this work. From this table it will appear that the series commencing with the churches of King Brian Boruma, about the year 1007, closes with that of Queen Dervorgilla, built A.D. 1168, and that the most characteristic examples of this style are the tomb of King Murtough O'Brien, A.D. 1123, Cormac's Chapel, A.D. 1127, the church of Aghadoe, A.D. 1158, the church of Tuam, A.D. 1161, and the church of Clonfert, A.D. 1166. A glance at these dates seems to prove that Ireland was then hardly in advance of Western Europe with respect to her ecclesiastical architecture, however it may establish that she kept alongside of other countries in the path of progress up to the middle of the twelfth century. The history of her arts of metal work and sculpture point to the same conclusion. The series of reliquaries commencing with the shrine of Molaise's gospels, A.D. 1001 to 1025, to that

¹ See for example the mouldings on the windows of Kilmacduagh of Annadown.

² See Saturday Review, vol. xli. pp. 302-3. Also Ruskin, Stones of Venice.

of the Cross of Cong, in 1123, and the series of inscribed and sculptured stones beginning with the Cross of King Flann, son of Malachy, A.D. 914, and ending with that of Turlough O'Connor, at Tuam, in the year 1123, prove that not only the art of architecture, but also those of metal work and sculpture, reached their highest perfection in the period between the 10th and 12th centuries, and a comparison of the earlier and later examples of these various arts between the years 914 and 1166 shows that, notwithstanding the disorganized state of the country, there was a steady progress in the arts of Ireland. It is remarkable that the fearful struggle with the Norsemen, which lasted for upwards of 200 years, and ended in the final defeat of these invaders in 1014, does not seem to have materially paralyzed the energies of the Irish nation as regards their native arts. It may be occasionally with nations as with individuals, and in the histories of men we find that some of the greatest works of human genius have been executed under the pressure of pain, or are the results of strong reaction of the brain in a spirit which may be stricken but not broken.

The period is still undecided at which the most wonderful achievement of this school—the Book of Kells—was executed. It was, at all events, previous to the year 1000, when it is first alluded to by the annalists. No effort hitherto made to transcribe any one page of this book has fully conveyed the perfection of execution and rich harmony of colour which belongs to this wonderful work. It is no exaggeration to say that as with the microscopic works of nature, or the delicate framework of a leaf when its skeleton is revealed, the stronger the magnifying power brought to bear upon it, the more is this perfection seen. No single false interlacement, or uneven curve in the spirals, no faint trace of a trembling hand or wandering thought can be detected. The intense concentration of mind necessary for the accomplishment of work so minute, where the brain would seem as it were drawn to a needle's point to fulfil its purpose, becomes a pain to contemplate. This is the very passion of labour and devotion, and thus did the Irish scribe work to glorify his sacred book; while the fortress belfries that the warrior monks raised to protect their monasteries, witness to the resolution with which they resisted and drove back the invader.

The history of all these monuments of Irish art, and indeed the inscriptions that many of them bear, give evidence that the cultivation of such arts was not confined to the ecclesiastics alone. In 950 and 964 we read of Fergal O'Rorke, King of Connaught, as builder of the great belfry at Clonmacnois: in 1008 King Brian Boruma (of whom it has been well said, "No other man had been so successful as he had been in combining the whole people in one national object")¹ seems to have also introduced Irish Romanesque: while King Murtoigh O'Brien, and Cormac MacCarthy, and Turlough O'Connor, each laboured in the promotion of art and civilization in Ireland, and their names are connected with, or even engraved upon, the most perfect works of Irish art in existence.

It appears evident that a certain amount of change which is involved in all progress was being wrought in Ireland through the instrumentality of such men, and might have ended in an established monarchy and less local church system. When Lanfranc, in 1074,

¹ See Mrs. Ferguson's *Irish Before the Conquest*, page 282.

and Anselm,¹ in 1106, wrote their epistles to King Turlough O'Brien and Gillebert of Limerick, they did so as to friends and fellow-labourers in the cause of law and order. In the hope of extricating the Irish Church from the power of the provincial chieftains, the effort was steadily made to attain unity.² This work was supported by Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, and continued by Malachy, the friend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. He, with the aid of Malchus, Bishop of Lismore, formerly a monk of Winchester, although a native of Ireland, devoted himself to the study of the customs of the Universal Church, reforming disorders and rebuilding churches. He seems to have striven to widen the merely local and native customs of manner and thought among his countrymen, and to broaden their sympathies from a too passionate clinging to old traditions, and open their minds for the reception of ideas and customs, which would bring them into more perfect harmony with the larger life of Europe.³

The changes that gradually appear in the architecture of Ireland from that of her early Church seem to symbolize this new order of things, and in the Romanesque churches, such as Kilmalkedar and Cormac's Chapel, the effect of such efforts becomes visible. Such change as this would have tended not to kill or to crush out the native life, but to harmonize and blend it with that of neighbouring countries; preserving to Irish art the dignity of individuality, with that delicacy of conception and treatment which belongs to her national genius, but enlarging its forms, and multiplying its beauties of detail by the introduction of external and foreign elements.

But such gradual and sure development was suddenly arrested in its course, and again the onward march was stopped by war—a war more fatal in its consequences than the struggle with the Norsemen, because it possessed all the paralyzing effect of domestic strife. The classic pillars and delicately carved arches of Queen Dervorgilla's Church at Clonmacnois lift their mute forms in silent witness to the life as to the death of native art. This church, which seems stamped with the finer grace of woman's hand, was built by the Irish queen, in her last years of penitence, whose tale so mournfully resembles that of

¹ By the advice of Anselm the effort was made to reduce the various liturgies of Ireland under one system.

² It seems to have been the aim of each one of these sovereigns to establish a central monarchy in Ireland; and here we may add the following remarks of Sir Henry Maine: "If the country had been left to itself, one of the great Irish tribes would almost certainly have conquered the rest. All the legal ideas which, little conscious as we are of their source, come to us from the existence of a strong central government lending its vigour to the arm of justice, would have made their way into the Brehon Law, and the gap between the alleged civilization of England, and the alleged barbarism of Ireland during much of their history, which is in reality narrower than is commonly supposed, would have almost wholly disappeared."

³ The friendly relations that existed between England and Ireland in the reign of Muirheartach (Murtoth) O'Brien are witnessed to in the following words of William of Malmesbury in his record of the deeds of Henry I. "Our Henry had such devoted followers in Murcardus, King of the Irish, and in his successors whose names report has not handed down, that they wrote nothing except what flattered him, and they governed in no respect except as he commanded. Although Murcardus is reported, for some reason or other, to have acted during a few days with offensive pride against the English, but soon to have quieted the swelling of his heart, in consideration of the stop put to the navigation and the payment of the seafarers." *Chronicle of William of Malmesbury, Concerning the Deeds of the English Kings, book v. (Of English affairs, after Bede), Henry Saville, p. 51.*

Guenevere, not only in her shame and ruin, but in the long chain of disaster in which her country since her fall became involved. "The children born of her were sword and fire," And she too might have dreamt that she beheld her shadow—

"Broadening from her feet,
And blackening, swallow all the land."

It was this queen's lover, Dermot, King of Leinster, who led Fitzstephen and the Anglo-Normans into Ireland to aid him in his war against her husband. Since then the native character of Ireland has best found expression in her music. No work of purely Celtic art, whether in illumination of the sacred writings, or in gold, or bronze, or stone, was wrought by Irish hands after that century. Her language, once so subtle and refined, "seems to lose its grammatical conscience," and her true national life to sink into the sleep of death.

Seated in the nave of the quiet and unpretending church of King Cormac on the rock of Cashel, the mind passes back across the wide space that divides the present from the past, and dwells on the long chain of monuments, illustrated in this book, as link by link they rise in the clear light of day. First there is the scene in Aran :—

. "A promontory of rock
That compassed round with turbulent sound,
In middle ocean meets the surging shock
Tempest buffeted, citadel crowned."

Grand as is the pagan fort rising here above the wide Atlantic, it is still the grandeur of gloom and solitude, and the mind seizes gratefully each sign of higher life and purer light that may be found in the works of successive centuries, until at last this little church upon the rock is reached, and its round arches close in rest above the head. Deeply impressive as is the message there borne in upon the spirit, it yet should breathe but trust and hope. Here every line seems to be imbued with repose and solemn beauty: the decoration on its walls, so modestly applied and delicately felt that it must be sought through the dim twilight of the nave. The little chancel, once filled with the simple music of old Irish hymns, at the end of which is seen the chamber, suffused with sunlight, holiest of holies, within which stood the table where was echoed back that deed whence all our hope and life must come,

Great as is the interest and even in some cases the beauty of the first system of architecture, that of the entablature, it is clear that the art mounted on other and higher steps when the forms of the round and pointed arch were adopted. While the leading idea of the first is horizontal, and the latter vertical extension, and fatalism and aspiration seem to be the sentiments expressed, that of the round arch is not of extension either way, but of simple rest. And yet it is a rest not without life and motion, but rather the repose of life governed by law.

The suggestiveness of each successive form that marks the steps by which this style arose is felt most clearly if we return to contemplate the doorway of Maghera, work of probably more than a century before. The primitive style of the entablature has not yet passed away, to be succeeded by that of the arch. With horizontal lintel and inclined sides, this doorway stands before us in all the dignity and simplicity of Egyptian architecture, an example—and perhaps the only one—of the entablature style enriched with Christian symbols. The crucifixion, with lance and sponge, the figure of the Saviour draped to the hands and wrists, the three disciples, and the women standing near, are carved upon the lintel, while down the sides the interlacings and the spirals of Celtic art are crowned by the quaint image of a saint “slaying the serpent,” a rude image, and yet, such as it is, the utterance of that hope

“Which dawned in human breasts, a double morn,
With earliest watchings of the rising light
Chasing the darkness; and through many an age
Has raised the vision of a future time
That stands an Angel with a face all mild
Spearing the demon.”¹

It is in buildings of such a style as this that we find the early condition of western Christianity to be symbolized—the gradual emergence from heathen forms and lingering paganism to the things of a fuller and a higher life. Thus far off “in the silver-misty morn” of time this gate may shine with that of Arthur’s youthful knight.

“And there was no gate like it under heaven.
For barefoot on the keystone, which was lined
And rippled like an ever-fleeting wave,
The Lady of the Lake stood: all her dress
Wept from her sides as water-flowing away;
But like the cross her great and goodly arms
Stretched under all the cornice and upheld:
.
And in the space to left of her and right,
Were Arthur’s wars in weird devices done;
New things and old co-twisted, as if Time
Were nothing.”²

But on the lintel of our Irish door was carved a higher form, beneath whose outspread arms we pass into the sanctuary.

Thoughts such as these arise when the topmost peak of St. Michael’s rock is reached, and nothing there is seen but the blue heaven above echoed and deepened in the blue sea beneath. The way of the cross has ended ere this point is reached; every sign of human sorrow, strife, and passion has been left behind; death in life has changed to life in death and peace which is the consummation of all.

It may indeed be doubted whether a native life that has left such traces ever can

¹ Jubal and other Poems, p. 200, George Eliot.

² Gareth and Lynette, pp. 15, 16, Alfred Tennyson.

become extinct, and whether it needs but to be truly revealed to win respect. The power of seizing the salient points in national character, and feeling a broad sympathy with the native genius of a foreign race is one possessed by few except the greatest artists and poets; and yet such perception and appreciation of truth is before all things necessary for early history. Guided by this tender intuition, what seemed weakness is found to be strength, and what seemed false is true. And now as year by year the secrets of Ireland's past are being unveiled, and truth is added to truth by earnest search and patient labour, it may be hoped that all barriers of evil prejudice which have long divided the children of two kingdoms may be overturned, and that, in the fulness of mutual trust and knowledge, brotherhood may be established. Offspring of a union, whether forced or natural, made long centuries ago, let it be their sacred filial duty to cast out all memories that have hitherto impeded that "marriage of true minds" between the lands that gave them birth, since by such effort peace alone is found. Then "in lone splendour hung aloft the night" that light will be revealed which reigns

. "An ever fixed mark,
That looks on tempests, and is never shaken;
And is the star to every wandering bark,
Whose worth's unknown, although his height be taken."

APPENDICES.

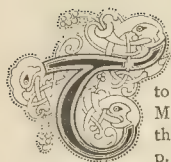
- I.—The Form of the Early Irish Churches.
- II. —Ecclesiastical Round Towers on the Continent.
- III.—Letters from Mr. Clark of Dowlais.
- IV.—Extracts from Letters—M. Viollet-le-Duc.
- V.—Chronological Table of those Examples of Irish Architecture, Sculpture, and Metal-work, the dates of which can be approximately fixed.
- VI.—List of Round Towers or Bell-houses of Ireland.
- VII.—Table of References to Bell-houses in Seven Books of Irish Annals, from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries.
- VIII.—Key to the Map of Ireland.
- IX.—Map of Ireland, illustrative, of the Invasions of the Northmen in the Ninth Century.



APPENDICES.

ON THE FORM OF THE EARLY IRISH CHURCHES.

SEE VOL. II. p. 147.



THE idea suggested by Mr. Freeman in this passage, that the form of church preserved in Ireland till the twelfth century, points to some original type that seems to have disappeared elsewhere, is one that well deserves future investigation. In Mr. Moyle's letters on the First Churches of the Early Christians, the authorities on this subject which he refers to are:—Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia Pambr Britannica*, p. 11; Fuller's *Miscellanea Sacra*; Baronius, *Ad Annum*, lvii. n. 30; Nicolas Fuller, *Miscel. Sacra*, l. ii. c. 9; Eusebius, lib. vii. 11, lib. ix. 1, 2; Eusebius, lib. viii. c. 2; Lactant., *De Morte Persecut.* c. xii.; Gregory Nyssen, in his *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, speaks of the public oratories of the Christians. Vopiscus, *Life of Aurelian*, c. xx., sets the "*Ecclesia Christianorum*" and the "*Templum Deorum omnium*" in opposition to each other.

It would appear from various passages in these writings, that the apostles and their immediate followers did in the first instance hold their meetings in the upper rooms of their dwellings, but afterwards had regular places of assembly which they termed *ecclesia*, besides having the practice of meeting in cemeteries, and Mr. Moyle quotes Baronius as alleging that the Christians had little churches, and brings forward other reasons for the belief that the primitive Christians had such small buildings or oratories in Aurelian's time, about the year 270.

The double stone-roofed churches of Ireland form so striking a class of ecclesiastical building that the editor wrote to Mr. James Fergusson, author of the *History of Architecture*, to inquire whether he had anywhere met with buildings resembling them, and which served at once as churches and dwelling house. She received the following answer to her questions:—

"Your inquiry is, I fear, only too easily answered in the negative. I do not know of any such arrangement as you describe, as existing in Ireland, of a monk living in or over his chapel; but I by no means feel sure that such an arrangement does not, or did not exist in Egypt and the East generally.

"The distinction between a monastery of three or four monks living in cells attached to their chapel and one monk living in a room over it, is very small; still, I cannot help fancying it did not exist in practice: but we know so little of the East that it is difficult to speak with any confidence on such a subject. If such oratories existed they must have been small and insignificant, and while nine-tenths of the larger monasteries are still unknown to us, it is too much to expect the small ones should be described.

"The publication of your book may direct attention to the subject, and when looked for, they may be found; but for the present, I fear, the idea can only be registered as the product of some fertile Irish imagination.

"Regretting I cannot send you a more satisfactory reply,

"I remain, yours, &c.,

"J. FERGUSSON.

"20, Langham Place, July 17, 1875."

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ECCLESIASTICAL ROUND TOWERS ON THE CONTINENT.

an essay written by Ferdinand Keller on the Plan of the Monastery of St. Gall, he thus describes the Round Towers therein:—

"At each side of the eastern porch of the monastery stand two towers, which are not only quite out of harmony with the principal building, but, as is the case in most of the old Italian basilicas, are some steps distant and connected with the porch by a covered way. They were apparently divided into stories, and are of a round form, which is singular in campanili. Their height is not stated, and it is not stated whether they were really intended for bells, which was doubtless their chief use. It is also remarked that all the surrounding country can be seen from the top (*ad universa super inspicienda*) and that at the summit of each there was



WEST FRONT OF NOTRE DAME DE MAFSTRICHT, MAFSTRICHT.



CHURCH OF ST. GERTRUDE, AT NIVELLES, IN BELGIUM.



SCHENESS, SWITZERLAND.



WEST END OF CHURCH AT GERNODE, IN THE HART.
FOUNDED A.D. 960.

a chapel containing an altar, one facing the North, dedicated to St. Michael, and another facing the South, dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel. It is also stated, as shown in the plan, that winding stairs lead to the chapels at the top of the towers."

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To the illustrations of ecclesiastical round towers on the Continent already given in this work, the editor is enabled to add the following four, which she has obtained through the kindness of her friends, Mr. Samuel Ferguson, of Dublin, and Mr. James Fergusson, of London.

The church of St. Gertrude, at Nivelles in Belgium, is described by Mr. Fergusson as having a square east end. He states that it was built in the earliest years of the eleventh century, and was dedicated in 1045, the Emperor Henry IV, assisting at the ceremony. The round tower has unfortunately lost its original, and probably conical top, and the upper story has been replaced by one of much more recent date. Were this tower detached from the buildings around it, its resemblance to that of Ardmore would be very striking indeed.

Letters from Mr. Clark.

The following letter on the Round Towers of Ireland will be read with interest. It was written to the Editor by Mr. Clark, of Dowlais, in answer to some questions as to the age of certain towers in England which had been supposed to have some analogy to those of Ireland.

"Dowlais House, Dowlais, Nov. 27, 1876.

"Englishmen are apt to be both positive and wrong when they express opinions upon Irish matters. The latter I may be, but I hope to avoid the former. With this caution, I will endeavour to answer your questions.

"The Irish round towers appear to me to be both Christian and ecclesiastical. Independent of other reasons, this is, I think, shown by their position with respect to many churches founded ecclesiastically at a date which all will allow to be earlier than the earliest of the towers.

"As to their use, my opinion formerly was that they were meant, primarily, to carry a bell; and secondarily, as a place of refuge for the 'persona ecclesiæ,' his assistants, the vessels of the sanctuary, and perhaps such of the very aged or infirm of the people as could not move with rapidity. I am now inclined to consider this latter as their sole original use. They do not appear ever to have contained a frame big enough to carry a large bell, nor is the arrangement such as would give egress to the sound, but would rather tend to stifle it, and that at a height at which large apertures could neither weaken the structure, nor endanger the security of the inmates. Moreover, I do not understand that bells of any considerable size were in early use in Ireland. Those which remain, or of which representations are seen, are small and angular, and fabricated of plates of metal, like a sheep bell; not cast, and they seem intended to be rung by hand.

"For defence, on the other hand, under certain conditions, these towers are not ill calculated. More than a few persons they could not contain, and no great store of provisions, but they would oppose a stout passive resistance to a sudden and short attack, such as the Norsemen or other piratical marauders would be likely to make upon them. Against such a force, lightly armed as it would be, a tower would be impregnable, unless the enemy had the means of undermining it, or time to collect sufficient wood to roast the garrison, who meanwhile had probably some means of alarming the district. The doorway, small, and ten or twelve feet from the ground, seems to have had double doors, hinged and plated with iron. Even if these were broken in, but a small number of persons could enter, and they would be at an immense disadvantage against those above, who having drawn up the ladder could shoot down arrows, or poke long spears through the rude flooring. Missiles, heavy or hot, I take to have been out of the question, for there could have been no space for storing the one or heating the other.

"Petrie, I think, attributes these towers to all dates between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. If for this opinion there be really sound historical evidence, of which no one is a better judge than yourself, there is no more to be said; but if I may rely upon the material evidence of their workmanship, I do not think them so old, and should be inclined to substitute from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. However, Irish documentary evidence is, I am aware, copious and correct; it may be that in architecture, as in other of the fine arts, Ireland was before the rest of Christian Europe.

"Your photographs certainly show a great range of masonry in these towers, extending probably over two or even three centuries, but the rudest have no affinity with such structures as the House of

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Finnan, attributed by Petrie to the sixth century. All, even the rudest, are of masonry, that is, of stone bedded in mortar, and not of dry walling like the Scottish brochs, to which the Irish towers are as superior in taste and elegance as they are in constructive style and workmanship. Dry walling indeed is carried to a considerable pitch of perfection in the brochs, as well as in the retaining walls of the chambered barrows of Uley and Stoney Littleton in Gloucester and Somerset, as well as in that very remarkable barrow opened by Mr. Vivian in Gower, all which must be of early date; but the step from this to the rudest cemented work was a great one, and this step the builders of the Irish towers had taken. Still, though all are laid in mortar, the earliest are very rude and the latest very highly finished, and the photographs show a regular series of progressing and improving workmanship until the rubble gave way to ashlar, and the mere rude openings to regularly dressed or ornamented door and window cases.

"Is it not the case that, although there may be early allusions to round towers, the earliest existing tower mentioned in records, is not supposed to be earlier than the commencement of the tenth century. As to the analogies of Brunllais, Launceston, Dolbadarn, and Coningsburgh, quoted by Petrie, he could never have seen them, and must have been misled by the exploded volumes of King. Brunllais I visited with the late Lord Dunraven, and it is evidently, as is Launceston, of early English date, one of those towers so common in France and introduced there in the reign of Philip Augustus. Coningsburgh is very late Norman, and Dolbadarn, I should say, of the reign of Henry III. All they have in common with the Irish towers is, that they are circular and have elevated doorways. If they had conical roofs, they were of wood. Pembroke Keep, which is round and domed, had evidently a wooden roof above all, and, as at Coucy, Coningsburgh, and Marten's Tower, at Chepstow, these cones rose not from the outer, but from an inner wall, leaving the battlements open.

"We have not, I believe, in England the detached round tower earlier than the twelfth century. The Pembrokeshire towers, so well described by Mr. Freeman in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, are later, and are rectangular. They seem, like your towers, to have been built for defence, though probably rather against the Welsh than against the Norsemen, whose visits were of earlier date, and who gave name to such places as Strumble Head, Skokholm, and Swansea, and indeed to so many others that it seems probable that these marauders became residents, and, I suspect, had as much to do with the English character of the Pembroke peninsula as the far later colony of Flemings. At Bedale in Yorkshire the church tower is fitted up for defence, and has a very curious portcullis, but is of late date.

"As to the word 'Belfry,' I do not suppose it has, etymologically, anything to do with bells. The mediæval 'Belfredus,' 'Berfreit,' or 'Beoffroi,' seems to have been a 'Machina bellica;' a tower of timber on wheels, used to quell the fire of the defenders in a siege, and the name was continued to fixed towers in which look-out men were posted with a bell to alarm the district. 'Ban-cloches' they were then called.

"I remain, yours, &c.,

"G. T. CLARK."

In another letter Mr. Clark adds:—

"Mr. Freeman, in a noble passage, has spoken of the city of Ravenna as 'a fossil fragment of a world which has passed away, of a world which in some sort had its own being within its walls,' where 'the true life has been kept safe by the abiding death,' the life of the past, unchoked 'as at Aachen by the continued or renewed life of the present.' And this seems to be pre-eminently true of Ireland. Her early life, vigorous in Gospel light, and in arts directed to the adornment of the visible emblems of her faith, was far beyond that of any other northern Christian nation, and far indeed beyond her more powerful and then pagan neighbour. Her wonderful series of Annals are both copious and truthful. Her illuminated manuscripts, the chalices, croziers, and other vessels and ornaments, personal or of the Church, are even at this day prized for their taste and delicacy of execution. No country can point to so complete a series of architectural examples. From the mortarless walls of

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Dun Aengusa to the Egyptian-like chapels and hermitages of the sixth and succeeding centuries, up to those graceful and elegant round towers, the subjects of so much attention and so much controversy, the series has an unbroken development. Each step displays features peculiarly Irish, until the highest type is reached in a style, the like of which was introduced into England at least a century later from Normandy, but which Irish architecture had anticipated in many of its most characteristic details."

"Athenæum Club,
London, Nov. 28, 1876.

"I neglected yesterday to answer some parts of your letter, and now do so on the eve of leaving town. The passage you quote from Freeman is very striking and very characteristic of the writer, but I should have thought that the old life of Ireland had been much encroached upon by Strongbow and his consequences. And, further, that the Anglo-Normans incorporated themselves in many cases with the old Irish is evident from the history of the Fitz Gerald, *plus Hiberniores quam Hibernis*, and the Norman style of architecture which they brought with them must have created a good deal of confusion, seeing that the Irish had a style of their own, full of what we call Norman elements and ornaments.

"The old life of Ireland seems to me to have been largely ecclesiastical, and the arts it fostered were mainly employed upon ecclesiastical objects, and but very little on private and secular life, and probably this is one reason why that old life has mixed so little with a later state of things. Venice has a good deal of this, still under the varnish of modern life retaining much that is old and peculiar. These early and concealed civilizations remind one of the corpse of Charles the Great, dressed in his royal robes, his crown on his head, and seated on his throne in the vault of Aachen, only waiting a touch to be restored to life.

"As to what you say about the circular form, it is the easiest to employ, and the simplest and therefore the earliest, as witness the wigwam or the Scottish brochs. Also, executed in stone, it is the best for *passive* resistance, but for *active* the worst, admitting of no flanking fire.

"The conical roof is the natural termination of the circular tower.

"I remain, yours, &c.,

"G. T. CLARK."

Extract from Letters of M. Viollet-le-Duc.

Monsieur Viollet-le-Duc observes in a letter to the writer:—"Comme il n'existe aucun monument de tour de monastère en France qui soit antérieur au X^{ième} siècle il serait difficile de dire si certains étaient couronnés par des toits coniques. Mais les représentations de ces édifices dans les manuscrits Carlovingiens et dans un grand nombre de bas-reliefs de XI ou XII siècle montrent des tours à toits coniques—ces toits coniques appartiennent à la plus haute antiquité. Cette forme dérivait du système le plus simple de couverture, puisque pour l'établir il suffit d'un arbre central et de chevrons appuyés sur son sommet. . . . Quant aux parties inférieures de ces tours d'églises bâties du VIII^{ième} au X^{ième} siècles, tours évidemment de défense, elles sont carrées, massives, munies d'une seule porte souvent défendues par une porte volant sur gonds. De ces soubassements nous avons des restes à St. Germain de Prés, à Paris, probablement IX^{ième} siècle, à la collégiale de Poissy X^{ième} siècle, à l'église de St. Savin près Poitiers (même date), à la petite église de Créteil près Paris (même date). Beaucoup de nos clochers du XII ou XIII siècles sont établis sur des soubassements plus anciens—toujours carrés et fermés.

"A date de Charles le Chauve les monastères durent se mettre en état de défense pour pouvoir résister aux incursions normandes. De ces tours de défenses on fit plus tard des clochers quand l'état pacifié du royaume le permit. Cela n'est pas douteux, puisque, pourtant partout, on trouve au moins les substructions de ces défens et particulièrement dans les églises abbatiales.

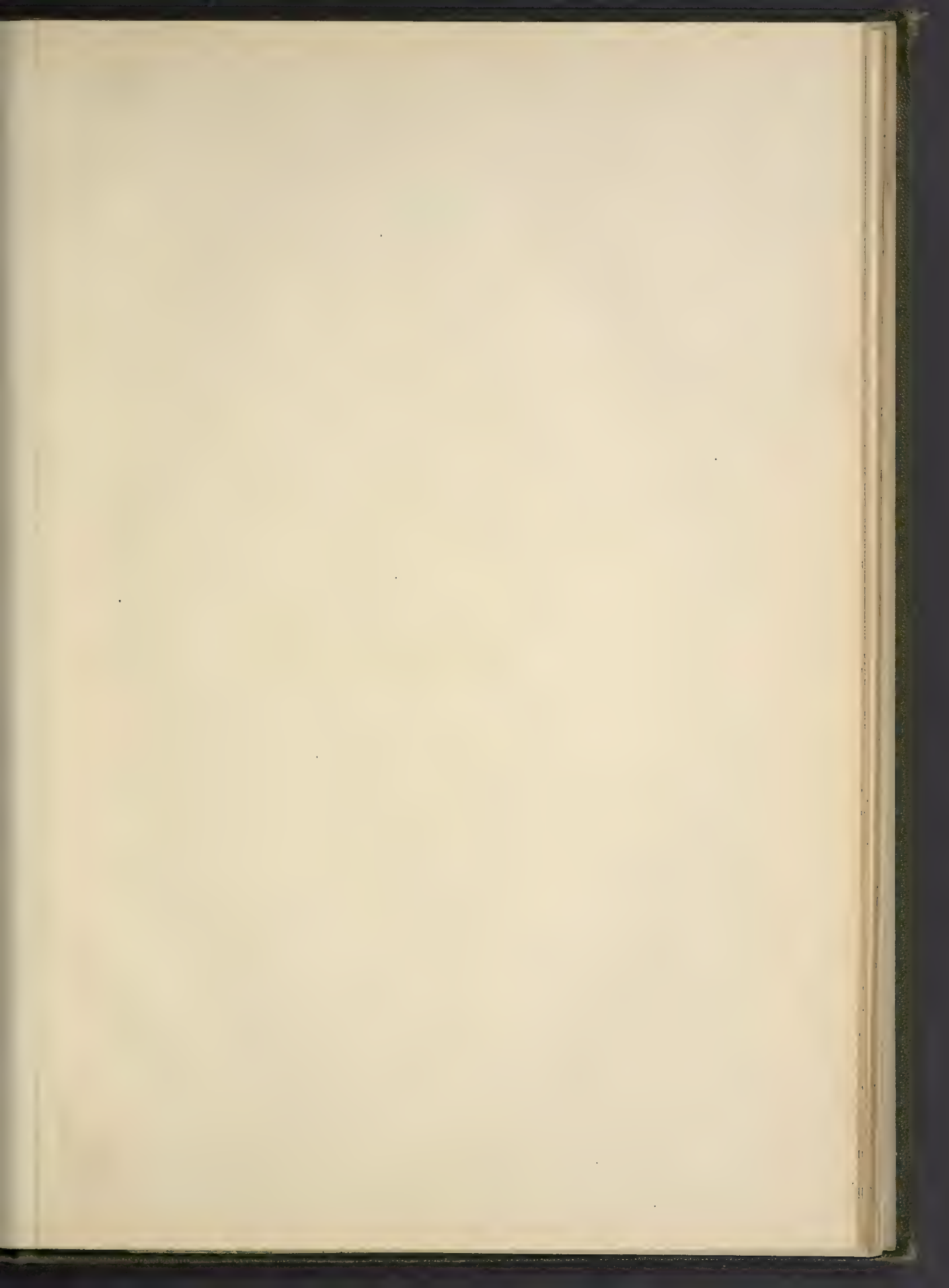
"Je crois que la plupart des tours Irlandaises sur les côtes sont des postes de surveillance pour permettre de signaler un débarquement et au besoin de résister quelque temps à une troupe."

In another letter the same writer adds:—"Les tours rondes dont vous me parlez, isolées des

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églises et placées spécialement dans les cimetières sont des tours de lumières, phares ou fanaux, pour annoncer aux voyageurs, la nuit, la présence d'une abbaie ou d'une église. La tour de St. Maurice d'Epinal n'est pas autre classe ; c'est-à-dire, tour fanal et aussi, au besoin, tour de guet, où presque toutes les abbayes avaient des guetteurs, comme les châteaux. J'ai toujours considéré les tours isolées d'Irlande comme ayant été construit pour ces deux fins ; savoir, éclairer ou guetter."





CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THOSE EXAMPLES OF THE DATES OF WHICH CA

A. D.	ARCHITECTURE.	NAMES OF BUILDERS.
904	Cathedral of Clonmacnois ¹	King Flann Sinna and Abbot Colman
917	Cashel and belfry of Seirkieran ²	Donnchadh, son of Flann Sinna, and Queen Saba
919	* Belfry of Castledermot ³	Abbot Cairbre, son of Feradach
952 to 964	Tempul Cillen, Clonmacnois	Cormac O'Cillen, Abbot of Clonmacnois and Tuaim Greine
952 to 964	Church and belfry of Tuaimgreine ⁴	Cormac O'Cillen, Abbot of Clonmacnois and Tuaim Greine
1007	Church of Killaloe ⁵	King Brian Boruma
1007	Church of Iniscaltra ⁶	King Brian Boruma
1015	* Belfry of Kinneth ⁷	Abbot Mochoilmog
1027	Church and belfry of Aghadoe (commenced) ⁸	Maenach
1089 to 1103	Cathedral of Clonmacnois rebuilt ⁹	Flaherty O'Longsy and Cormac, son of Conn of the Poor
1100	Church and belfry of Dungiven ¹⁰	O'Cahane
1123	Tomb of King Murtogh O'Brien ¹¹	
1124	Belfry of Clonmacnois finished ¹²	Abbot O'Malone
1126	Basilica of St. Peter and Paul consecrated ¹³	Imar O'Aeducain, anchorite, and tutor of St. Malachy
1127 to 1134	Cormac's chapel built ¹⁴	King Cormac M'Carthy
1127 to 1134	Two churches at Lismore built ¹⁵	King Cormac M'Carthy
1127 to 1134	Monastery in Iveragh built ¹⁶	King Cormac M'Carthy and St. Malachy
1142	Mellifont consecrated ¹⁷	Donagh O'Carroll, King of Oriel, and St. Malachy
1146	Bective consecrated ¹⁸	Murchard O'Melaghlin, Prince of Meath
1148	Baltinglass consecrated ¹⁹	Dermot M'Murrough, King of Leinster
1148	Church of Knock na Sangean built ²⁰	St. Malachy and Bishop O'Ceallaidhe and Donogh O'Carroll
1161	Cathedral of Tuam built ²¹	King Turlough O'Conor and Abbot Aed O'Hoisin
1151	Church of Kilbarry ²²	Cuaille MacScolraighe and Gillacoimhdhe O'Anli
1151	Boyle consecrated	
1151	Nenay in Limerick ²³	Turlough O'Brian, King of Munster
1168	Church of Dervorgilla built ²⁴	Queen Dervorgilla
1158	Church of Aghadoe finished ²⁵	Auliffe Mór O'Donoghoe
1164	Cathedral of Derry built	Flathbert O'Brolchan and Murtogh M'Laughlin
1167	Church of O'Kelly's, Clonmacnois	Conor O'Kelly, chief of Hy Many
1167	Tempul Kieran	Conor O'Kelly, chief of Hy Many
1166	Clonfert rebuilt ²⁶	Conor O'Kelly, chief of Hy Many
1166	Twelve churches in Galway and Clare built	Conor O'Kelly, chief of Hy Many
1238	Belfry of Annaghdown built	

¹ Annals Four Masters, Annals Clonmacnois, A.D. 901.

² Keatinge, History of Ireland. MS. Trinity College, Dublin, H. 5, 26, p. 149. See also History and Antiquities of St. Canice's Cathedral, pp. 8, 13. Foundation of the round tower still remains, and has been examined by the Rev. James Graves.

³ Tradition that it was built by Abbot Cairbre, who died A.D. 919.

⁴ Chronicon Scotorum, p. 217.

⁵ MacLag's Life of King Brian Boruma, MS. Library, Trinity College, Dublin.

⁶ Tradition. Smith, History of Cork, vol. ii. p. 416.

⁷ See page 36 of this volume.

⁸ Annals Four Masters, Annals Clonmacnois, A.D. 1100.

¹⁰ Archdall Monasticum, p. 92, Allemande.

¹¹ Annals Four Masters, A.D. 1119.

¹² Chronicon Scotorum, Annals Four Masters.

¹³ Annals Four Masters.

H ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND METAL WORK

BE APPROXIMATELY FIXED.

SCULPTURED CROSSES AND TOMBSTONES.	A. D.	METAL WORK.
Terminal cross erected by Abbot Colman in memory of King Flann Sinna	904	Bronze bell of Cumascach, son of Aiill.
Fiachra of Eagles Beg at Clonmacnois		
Muredach, Abbot of Monasterboice		
Uallach, chief poetess of Ireland		
Guare, priest of Clonmacnois		
Rechta, priest of Clonmacnois		
Diarmait		
Dunadach, Bishop of Clonmacnois	954	Bell shrine of Maelbrigde.
Maelfinia, Bishop of Clonmacnois		
Odran Ua h-Eolais, Scribe of Clonmacnois		
Flannchad, Bishop of Clonmacnois	1001 to 1025	St. Molaise's cumdach or case of the gospels.
Corpre Mac Athail		
Muredach, Bishop of Clonmacnois	1023 to 1052	Cumdach of Stowe missal.
Maelphatraic, Priest of Clonmacnois		
Duilinse, Lector of Clonmacnois		
Mael finnia, Bishop of Clonmacnois	1047	Crosier of Maelfinnia of Kells.
Conn na-mbocht, founder of the Culdees at Clonmacnois		
Fogartach, anchorite and sage at Clonmacnois		
Maelchiaran, Bishop of Clonmacnois		
Muredach		
Gillachrist, student at Clonmacnois	1098	Cathach of the O'Donnells.
.	1091 to 1105	Shrine of Armagh bell.
.	1101	Crosier of Lismore.
.	1106 to 1126	Shrine of St. Lachtin's arm.
Cross of Tuam erected by King Turlough O'Conor	1123	Cross of Cong.
.	1150	Cumdach of Dimma's book.

¹⁴ Annals Four Masters.

¹⁵ Annals of Inisfallen.

¹⁶ Life of St. Malachy, by St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

¹⁷ Archdall Monasticum, p. 479 (no remains of building of this period).

¹⁸ Archdall Monasticum, p. 516, War. Mon.

¹⁹ Archdall Monasticum, p. 761, War. Mon.

²⁰ Annals Four Masters.

²¹ Petrie, Ecclesiastical Architecture, p. 311. Ware, Annals Four Masters.

²² Annals Four Masters, 1151.

²³ Built by Turlough O'Brian.

²⁴ Annals Four Masters.

²⁵ Annals Inisfallen, Langau IV., p. 168.

²⁶ Built by Conon O'Kelly (see Cambrensis Eversus, vol. iii. p. 321). (Celtic Society.)

ROUND TOWERS OR BELL-HOUSES OF IRELAND.

p. *perfect*; n. p. *nearly perfect*; i. *imperfect*; s. *stump*; f. *foundation*; v. *variety*; d. *destroyed*.

* *Only known by historical allusions.*

	Name.	Condi- tion	County.	Founder of Church in the Cemetery of which Tower stands. ¹	Supposed Date of Founder
1	Aghadoe	s.	Kerry	St. Finan the Leper .	Circ. 675.
2	Aghagower	i.	Mayo	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
3	Aghaviller	i.	Kilkenny	St. Brendan	Circ. 576.
4	Annaghdown	s.	Galway	St. Brendan's Sister .	Circ. 576.
5	Antrim	p.	Antrim	St. Comgall of Bangor	Circ. 550.
6	Aran Mor	s.	Galway	St. Enda	Circ. 540.
7	*Ardbraccan	d.	Meath	St. Breacan	Circ. 520.
8	Ardfert	f.	Kerry	St. Brendan	Circ. 576.
9	Ardmore	v. p.	Waterford	St. Declan	Circ. 541.
10	Ardpatrick	s.	Limerick	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
11	Ardrahen	v. f.	County Galway . . .	?	
12, 13	* Armagh	d.	Armagh	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
14	Armoyn	i.	Antrim	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
15	Assylin	f.	Roscommon	St. Columba	Circ. 590.
16	Ballagh	i.	Mayo	St. Mochua	Circ. 637.
17	Ballybeg	s.	Cork	?	
18	Ballyvourmy	f.	Cork	St. Abban	Circ. 520.
19	Brigoon	f.	Cork	St. Abban	Circ. 650.
20	Carrigeen	i.	Limerick	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
21	Cashel	p.	Tipperary	Cormac Mac Culinan.	Circ. 908.
22	Castledermot	i.	Kildare	St. Diarmait	Circ. 825.
23	* Clonard	d.	Meath	St. Finian	Circ. 520.
24	Clondalkin	p.	Dublin	St. Cronan Mochua .	Circ. 550.
25	Clonmacnois	p.	King's County	St. Ciaran	Circ. 548.
26	Clonmacnois	i.	King's County	St. Ciaran	Circ. 548.
27	Clones	i.	Monaghan	St. Tighernach	Circ. 544.
28	Cloyne	i.	Cork	St. Colman Mc Lenin .	Circ. 600.
29	Cork	f.	Cork	St. Finbar	Circ. 550.
30	Devenish	v. p.	Fermanagh	St. Molaise	Circ. 564.
31	Donaghmore	i.	Meath	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
32	Downpatrick	d.	Down	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
33	Dromiskin	i.	Louth	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
34	Drumboe	i.	Down	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
35	Drumcliff	i.	Sligo	St. Columba	Circ. 590.
36	Drumcleeve	i.	Clare	? Ingen Boeth, or St. Ciaran	Circ. 548.
37	Drumlane	i.	Cavan	St. Moedoc	Circ. 656.
38	Dublin	f.	Dublin	Lorcan Ua Tuathail ³ .	Circ. 1162.

¹ The Editor has to acknowledge the assistance of the Rev. Francis Shearman in compiling this list of the founders and their dates.

² Ann. Clonmacnois, A.D. 1182.

³ Abbot of Glendaloch 1127 to 1157; Archbishop of Dublin 1162. Died April 14, 1180.

Round Towers.

	Name.	Condi- tion.	County.	Founder of Church in the Cemetery of which Tower stands.	Supposed date of Founder.
39	* Duleek	d.	Meath	St. Cianan	Circ. 489.
40	Dunaman	d.	Limerick	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
41	* Dungarvan	d.	Waterford	St. Garbhan	
42	Dungiven	d.	Londonderry	St. Neachtan	Circ. 678.
43	Disert Aengus	i.	Limerick	Aengus the Culdee	Circ. 780.
44	Disert O'Dea	v. i.	Clare	St. Tola	Circ. 734.
45	Disert Enos	i.	Queen's County	St. Aengus the Culdee	Circ. 780.
46	* Emly	d.	Tipperary	St. Ailbe	Circ. 527.
47	Errigal Keerogue? ¹	d.	Tyrone	Ciarog	Circ. 827.
48	Feartamor? ²	d.	Galway	?	
49	Ferbane? ³	d.	King's County	?	
50	Ferns	v. i.	Wexford	St. Moedoc	Circ. 624.
51	Fertagh	i.	Kilkenny	St. Ciaran. ⁴	
52	Glendalough	i.	Wicklow	St. Kevin	Circ. 618.
53	Do., Kevin's Church	p.	Do.	Do.	
54	Do., Trinity Church	i.	Do.	St. Mochuarog	Circ. 618.
55	Inis Cloran	i.	Longford	St. Diarmait	Circ. 540.
56	Inis Celtra	i.	Clare	St. Caimin	Circ. 562.
57	Iniskeen	i.	Louth and Monaghan	St. Daeg	Circ. 569.
58	Inis mac Nessain	i.	Dublin	Sons of Nessan	Circ. 750.
59	Kellistown	i.	Carlow	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
60	Kelis	i.	Meath	St. Columba	Circ. 590.
61	Kilcullen	i.	Kildare	St. Aengus Mac Tail	Circ. 548.
62	Kildare	i.	Kildare	St. Bridget	Circ. 523.
63	Killeshin	d.	Carlow	St. Comgan or Comdan. ⁵	
64	Kilkenny	i.	Kilkenny	St. Canice	Circ. 577.
65	Killala	p.	Mayo	Muredach	Circ. 450.
66	Kilbennan	i.	Galway	St. Benen	Circ. 450.
67	Kilnaboy	s.	Clare	Ingen Boeth	
68	Killossy	i.	Kildare	St. Auxilius	Circ. 455.
69	Kilmacduach	p.	Galway	St. Colman Mac Duach	Circ. 600.
70	Kilmallock	v. i.	Limerick	St. Mocheallog	Circ. 656.
71	Killree	i.	Kilkenny	St. Bridget. ⁶	Circ. 490.
72	Kinneth	v. i.	Cork	Mocholmog	Circ. 1015.
73	Limerick	d.	Limerick	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
74	Londonderry	f.	Londonderry	St. Columba. ⁷	Circ. 590.
75	Lorum	f.	Carlow	St. Molaise	Circ. 563.
76	Louth	f.	Louth	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
77	Lusk	p.	Dublin	Mac Cuilinn	Circ. 497.
78	Maghera	s.	Down	St. Domangart	
79	Mahee Island	i.	Down	St. Mochaio	Circ. 497.

¹ Authority, John Groves, Survey of Tyrone.

² Hoare's Tour in Ireland, p. 289.

³ Ledwich, p. 301.

⁴ Died circa 520.

⁵ Died ante A.D. 570.

⁶ St. Bridget, the patron of Killree, was not the Saint of Kildare. She was most probably Bryde of Cluain Infide on the Shannon, daughter of Curaidh, then of Ossory, circa A.D. 560. Trias Thaumaturga, p. 612. Lanigan, Ecclesiastical Architecture, vol. i. p. 449. *Cill'Fraoic*, Cillraoic, pronounced Killree.

⁷ The Chronicon Scotorum has at A.D. 620, "Death of Fiacra Ciaran, son of Ainmire, son of Senna, i.e. another founder of Doire Calgaigh," p. 75, i.e. Londonderry.

Round Towers.

	Name.	Condi- tion.	County.	Founder of Church in the Cemetery of which Tower stands.	Supposed date of Founder.
80	Meelick	n. p.	Mayo	St. Broccaid.	
81	Monasterboice	i.	Louth	St. Buite ¹	Circ. 571.
82	Nohoval Daly	s.	Cork	St. Finian	Circ. 520.
83	Oran	i.	Roscommon	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
84	Oughterard	i.	Kildare	St. Bridget	Circ. 490.
85	Ram Island	i.	Antrim	Aedhan	
86	* Raphoe	d.	Donegal	St. Adamnan ²	Circ. 654.
87	Rathmichael	s.	Dublin	?	
88	Rattoo	p.	Kerry	?	
89	Roscam	i.	Galway	?	
90	* Roscarbury	d.	Cork	St. Fachtna	Circ. 570.
91	* Roscommon	d.	Roscommon	St. Coeman	Circ. 540.
92	Roscrea	i.	Tipperary	St. Cronan	Circ. 661.
93	Rosenallis	f.	Queen's County	St. Bridget	Circ. 490.
94	Scattery	p.	Clare	St. Senan	Circ. 500.
95	Seir Kieran	f.	King's County	St. Ciaran	Circ. 548. ³
96	* Slane	d.	Meath	St. Erc	Circ. 514.
97	Swords	n. p.	Dublin	St. Columba	Circ. 590.
98	Tamlaght Finlagan	f.	Londonderry	St. Finnlugh	Circ. 590.
99	Teghadoe	i.	Kildare	St. Ultan Tua	Circ. 650.
100	Timahoe	p.	Queen's County	St. Mochua	Circ. 654.
101	Tory Island	i.	Donegal	St. Columba	Circ. 590.
102	* Trim	d.	Meath	St. Patrick	Circ. 450.
103	Trummery	d.	Antrim	?	
104	* Tuaim Greine	d.	Clare	St. Cronan	Circ. 619.
105	Tullaghard	d.	Meath		
106	Tullaheerin	i.	Kilkenny	St. Ciaran	Circ. 520. ⁴
107	Tullamain . . . . .	.	Kilkenny	?	
108	Turlough	p.	Mayo	?	

To this List may be added the following names of towers, said to have existed, but of which the editor has not as yet succeeded in discovering any authentic record.

109	Aghowle . . . . .	.	Wicklow.		
110	Castlereagh . . . . .	.	Down.		
111	Drumachose . . . . .	.	Londonderry	St. Canice of Kilkenny. ⁵	
112	Durrow . . . . .	.	King's County	St. Columba	Circ. 553.
113	Ferry Carrig . . . . .	.	Wexford.		
114	Fore . . . . .	.	West Meath	St. Feichin	Circ. 661.
115	Granard	f.	Longford	St. Fiachra ⁶	Circ. 765.
116	Killeevy . . . . .	.	Armagh.		
117	Meelick ⁷	d.	Galway.		
118	Sligo . . . . .	.	Sligo.		

¹ St. Buite died A.D. 524, December 7th, the night St. Columba was born. Adamnan, p. lxix.

² Born A.D. 624 (Chron. Scotorum, p. 79), died A.D. 700. O'Flaherty says, 704 (Chron. Scotorum, p. 115), Abbot of Hy. patron of Raphoe.

⁴ Or 450.

⁶ Patron of the Church before he went to Ossory, circa 578.

³ Died circa 520.

⁶ Query, St. Fiachra Cael, July 25, of Cluain Caichtne, which is, perhaps, a form of Cluain Conmache, now Cloone bar of Mohill in Leitrim.

⁷ See Dalton's Survey of Galway, p. 467; Ledwich Antiquities of Ireland, p. 301.

FOREIGN ROUND TOWERS.

Examples of somewhat similar ecclesiastical towers existing or known to have existed in other countries besides Ireland.

Name.	County.
Abernethy	Scotland.
Brechin	Scotland.
Egilsha	Orkney Islands.
Deerness	Orkney Islands.
West Burra	Shetland.
Tingwall	Shetland.
Ireland's Head	Shetland.
Stremoe	Faroe Islands.
St. Patrick's	Isle of Man.
St. Gall ¹	Switzerland.
Scheness	Switzerland.
Gernrode	Hartz.
Ravenna ²	Italy.
St. Paternian ³	Venice.
St. Nicolo ⁴	Pisa.
St. Maurice	Epinal.
St. Germain des Prés	Paris.
St. Thomas	Strasburg.
Worms	Germany.
St. Gertrude	Nivells.
Uzes	Gard.
Maestricht	Belgium.

¹ On ancient plan of the monastery attributed to Eginhard, secretary of Charlemagne.

² There are six circular detached ecclesiastical towers in Ravenna, the date of which is uncertain ; but they are held to be later than Charlemagne. See Freeman's Historical and Architectural Sketches, p. 51.

³ Internally round, externally an irregular hexagon.

⁴ Lower story circular, two middle stories octagonal, and fourth or upper story hexagonal.

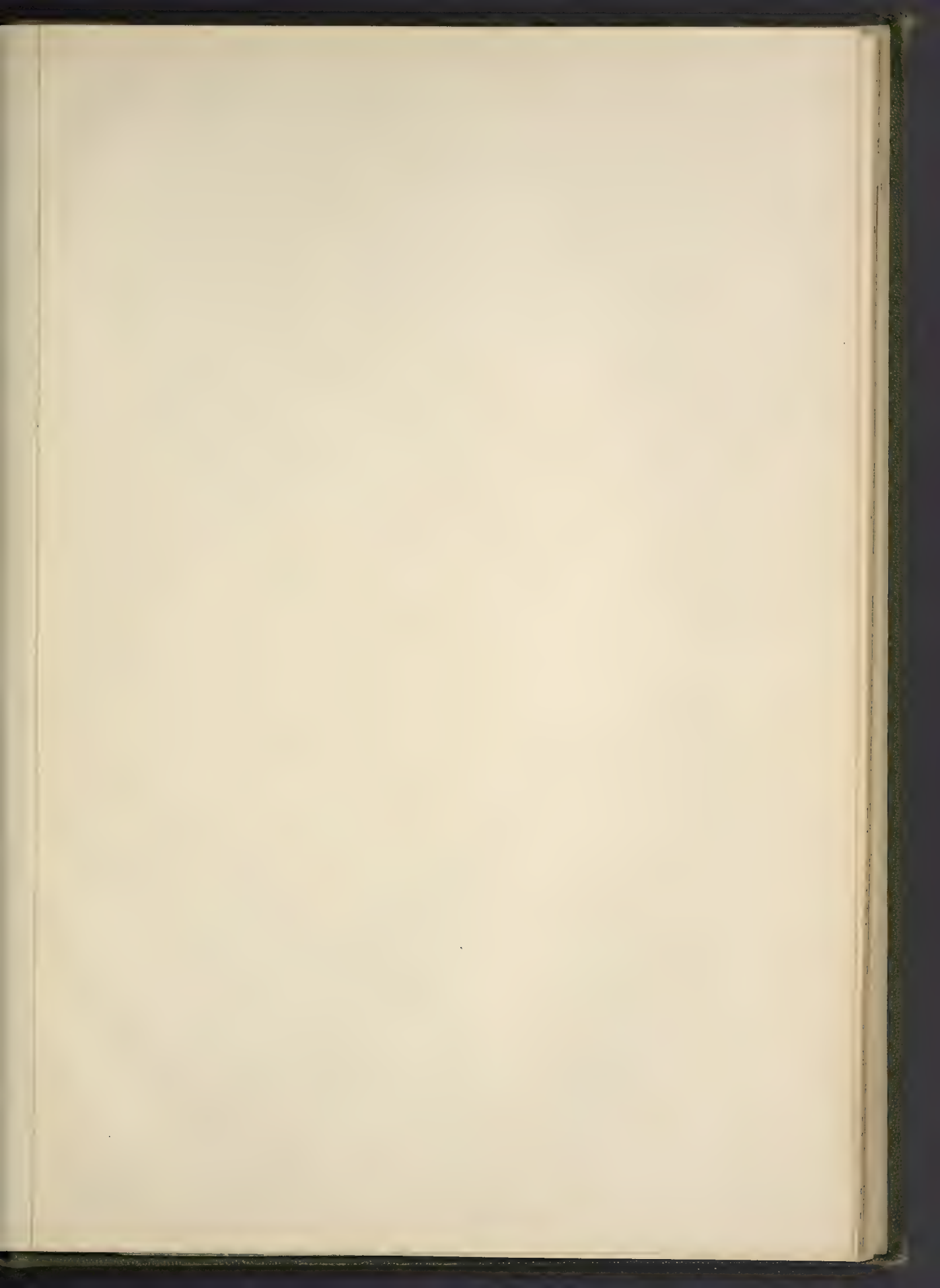


REFERENCES TO BELFRIE

			TIGHERNACH.	CHRONICON SCOTORUM.	ANNALS OF INISFALLEN.	
			Compiled at close of the eleventh century. Tighernach O'Braoin, abbot of Clonmacnois, died A.D. 1088.	Compiled by Gillachrist O'Malone, Abbot of Clonmacnois, who died A.D. 1123.	Compiled about A.D. 1215. Commenced two centuries earlier.	Compi
950	Slane	County Meath		A.D. 949. The belfry (<i>doigtech</i>) of Slane was burned by the Gentiles, with its full of people in it, including Conecan, Lector of Slane.		A.D. 949. burned, crozier, the be, burned
966	Tomgrane	County Clare		A.D. 964. Cormac Ua Cillin, of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, comarb of Ciaran and Coman, and comarb of Tuaim-greine, by whom the great church of Tuaim-greine, and its <i>doigtech</i> (belfry), were constructed, sapiens et senex, et Episcopus, quievit in Christo.		
987	Louth	County Louth				
996	Armagh	County Armagh	A.D. 996. Ardmaccha was burned, both houses and <i>daimhliag</i> , and <i>doithech</i> , and <i>fidnad</i> —a complete destruction such as occurred not in Erin before, and that will not occur till doomsday.	994. Ardmaccha was burned: houses, churches, and its belfry (<i>doigtech</i>).		
1017	Down	County Down				A.D. 1017. mic-Na burnt.
1020	Armagh	County Armagh	A.D. 1020. Ardmaccha was burned on the third of the kalends of May, with all its <i>dertechs</i> , save only the <i>teach screptra</i> . And a great many houses were burned in the <i>Trians</i> , and the great <i>daimhliag</i> was burned, and the <i>doigtech</i> with its bells, and <i>daimhliag na togho</i> , and <i>diamhliag int saba-nill</i> , and the Preachaing Chair, and a great quantity of gold and silver, and jewels besides.	A.D. 1018. Ard-Mach was burned, together with the Rath, except the <i>Teach-Screaptra</i> (library); and the great stone-church (<i>daimhliag</i>) was burned, and the belfry (<i>doigtech</i>), and the <i>carbaid</i> (chariot), and a great deal of gold and silver.		1018. viz, the with it, with it, and the the old kalends sundel of Junn other; were 1 church ing, to burnt
1040	Clonard	County Meath				
1049	Roscommon	County Roscommon		A.D. 1049. Ross-Comain was entirely burnt, both <i>Damhliag</i> (stone-church) and Regles (abbey-church), by the men of Breifne.		
1052	Rostalla	Westmeath		A.D. 1052. A tower (<i>doigtech</i>) of fire was seen at Ross-Deala, on the Sunday of the festival of George, during the space of five hours; black birds innumerable going into and out of it, and one large bird in the middle of it; and the little birds used to go under its wings when they went into the tower.		
1059	Emly	Tipperary			A.D. 1058. Turlough, son of Teige, son of Brian, at the head of the Lagenians, Ossorians, and Danes of Dublin, marched into Munster and burnt most of the country all along to Limerick.	A.D. 1058. <i>daimhliag</i>

IN THE IRISH ANNALS.

ANNALS OF ULSTER.	ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS.	ANNALS OF LOCH CE.	ANNALS OF CLONMACNOIS.
<p>MacManus by Cathal oge MacManus. Died A.D. 1498.</p> <p><i>cloittech</i> (belfry) of Slane was burned by the foreigners, with its full Patron was burned, and a bell, s. Caenechair the Lector was great number along with him.</p>	<p>Compiled by Michael, Conary, and Cucogry O'Uery, with Ferfassa O'Mulconry. Written principally by Michael Teige O'Uery, born 1575, died 1635.</p> <p>A.D. 948. The belfry (<i>cloittech</i>) of Slaine was burned by the foreigners, with its full of relics and distinguished persons, together with Caineachair, Lector of Slane, and the crosier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells.</p> <p>A.D. 964. Cormac Ua Cillene, successor of Ciarain, a bishop and a wise man of great age, died.</p>	<p>Compiled by Brian MacDermot, who died 1592.</p>	<p>Original lost. A compilation, made in English in 1627.</p> <p>A.D. 945. The steeple of Slane was burnt by the Danes, which was full of worthy men and relics of saints, with Kenyagher, lector of Slaine.</p>
	<p>A.D. 986. Great and unusual wind, which prostrated many buildings and houses, and among others the Oratory of Lughmogh (Louth), and many other buildings.</p> <p>A.D. 995. Ard-Macha was burned by lightning, both houses, churches, and <i>cloitheaca</i> (belfries), and its sacred wood with all destruction.</p>		<p>A.D. 981. There was such boisterous stormy winds this year that it fell down many turrets, and among the rest it fell down violently the steeple of Louth, and other steeples.</p> <p>A.D. 989. Ardmac was also burnt, both church, house, and steeple, that there was not such a spectacle seen in Ireland.</p>
<p>Dunlegh-glais all burnt. Cluonfert, and Ceananus, <i>i.e.</i> Kells,</p> <p>Ard-Macha was altogether burned, <i>liag mor</i> (great stone-church), lead, and the belfry (<i>cloittech</i>) and the <i>sabhall</i>, and the <i>Toa</i>, <i>ot</i> (<i>carbad</i>) of the abbots, and <i>ing chair</i>, on the third of the ne, the Monday before Whitn-mach, the third of the kallends burnt from the one end to the ly the librarie all the houses the great church steeple, the ll, the pulpit or chair of preach-ith much gold and books, were Danes.</p>	<p>A.D. 1015. Dunda-leathghlas was totally burned, with its stone church and belfry (<i>cloittech</i>), by lightning.</p> <p>A.D. 1020. Ard-Macha was burned, with all the fort, without the saving of any house within it, except the library only, and many houses were burned in the Trians; and the great stone-church was burned, and the belfry (<i>cloittech</i>) with its bells; and Daimhliag na Toe, and Daimhliag-an-tsabhail; and the old preaching chair, and the chariot of the abbots and their books in the houses of the students, with much gold, silver, and other precious things.</p> <p>A.D. 1039. The belfry (<i>cloittech</i>) of Cluain fraird fell.</p> <p>A.D. 1050. Doire-Caelainne and the belfry of Ros-Comain were burned by the men of Breifne.</p> <p>A.D. 1054. A steeple (<i>cloittech</i>) of fire was seen in the air over Ros-Deala, on the Sunday of the festival of George, for the space of five hours; innumerable black birds passing into and out of it, and one large bird in the middle of it; and the little birds went under his wings when they went into the steeple.</p>	<p>A.D. 1016. Dun-leth-glaise was entirely burnt. Cluainferta and Cenannus were burned.</p> <p>A.D. 1020. Ard-Macha was altogether burned; viz. the great stone-church with its roof of lead, and the belfry with its bells, and the Sabhall, and the Toal, and Carbad-na-nAbbaid, and the old preaching chair, on the 3rd of the kalends of June, the Monday before Whitsuntide.</p>	<p>A.D. 1013. Kildare, Glandalougha, Clonard, Aron, Swords, Clonvicknose, were thoroughly burnt by Danes. Ardmac the third of the Kalends of June was burnt from the one end to the other, save only the library; all the houses were burnt, the great church-steeple, the church of the Saual, the pulpit or chair of preaching, together with much gold, silver, and books, were burnt by the Danes.</p> <p>A.D. 1039. The steeple of Clonard fell down to the earth.</p>
<p>Imlech-Ivair all burnt, both c-church) and <i>cloittech</i> (belfry).</p>	<p>A.D. 1058. Imlech-Ibhair was totally burned, both daimhliag and steeple (<i>cloittech</i>).</p>	<p>A.D. 1058. Imlech-Ibhair was entirely burnt, both stone church and steeple (<i>cloittech</i>).</p>	



REFERENCES TO BELFRIES

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			TIGHERNACH.	CHRONICON SCOTORUM.	ANNALS OF INISFALLEN.
			Compiled at close of the eleventh century. Tigernach O'Braoin, abbot of Clonmacnois, died A.D. 1088.	Compiled by Gillachrist O'Malone, Abbot of Clonmacnois, who died A.D. 1125.	Compiled about A.D. 1215. Commenced two centuries earlier.
1076 or 1077	Kells	County Meath	A.D. 1076. Murchadh, grandson of Flann Ua Maelsechlainn, was slain in treachery by Amlaibh son of Maelan, king of the Gailenga, in the belfry (<i>cloicthech</i>) of Cenannus (Kells); and he (Amlaibh) was slain immediately after, through the miracle of Colum Cille.	A.D. 1073. Murchadh, son of Conchobhar Ua Maelsechlainn, was killed by Amhlaibh, son of Maelan, i.e. the King of Gaileng, in the <i>cloictech</i> (belfry) of Cenannus (Kells), and he himself fell by Maelsechlainn, son of Conchobhar.	A.D. 1076. Murcha O'Maolseachlin was murdered in the steeple of Kells (<i>cloicthech</i> of Cenanaia) by Auliff, son of Maolan O'Lochain, king of Gailenga.
1097	Monasterboice	County Louth		A.D. 1093. The <i>cloictech</i> (belfry) of Mainistir was burned, with the writings (<i>scriptuir</i> , "scripture") in it.	
1121	Armagh	County Armagh			
	Tullamain	County Kilkenny			
1124	Clonmacnois	King's County		A.D. 1120. The great belfry (<i>cloictech</i>) of Chuain-muc-Nois was finished by Gillachrist Ua Maeleoin and by Toirdelbach Ua Conchobhair.	
1128	Trim	County Meath			A.D. 1127. A great hosting by Connor MacFergall O'Loughlin, together with the people of the North of Ireland, to Meath, they burnt Trim, both <i>cloictech</i> (steeple), and church, and these full of people.
1135	Clonmacnois Roscrea	King's County Tipperary		A.D. 1131. Lightning knocked off the head of the steeple (<i>cloictech</i>) of Chuain-muc-nois, and pierced the steeple of Roscrea.	
1147	Duleek	County Meath			
1156	Fertagh	County Kilkenny	A.D. 1156. A hosting by Murtogh Mac Neile into Ossory when they plundered the entire country, and burnt four principal churches, including Durrow of Idough and Aghmacart, and he burnt Eochy O'Cuinn the lector in the <i>cloictech</i> (belfry).		A.D. 1156. Murtogh, son of Niall Mac Lochlainn, marched into Ossory; and they plundered and laid waste the whole country, and burnt four principal churches among which were the church of Durrow (i.e. Hy Duagh, and Achy-mic Airt; and he burnt Eochaidh O'Cuinn, the Lector, in the <i>cloictech</i> (belfry).
1170	Ardracacan	County Meath			
1171	Tullyard	County Meath			A.D. 1171. The belfry of Tulach-Ard Connallain, with its full of people in it, was burnt by the same fierce warrior O'Ruairi.
1238	Annadown	County Galway			A.D. 1238. The belfry of Eanach-dul (Annadown, Co. Galway), was built.

IN THE IRISH ANNALS

d).

ANNALS OF ULSTER.	ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS.	ANNALS OF LOCH CE.	AN. OF CLONMACNOIS.
Compiled A.D. 1496.	Compiled by Michael Conary, and Cúicary O'Clery with I-relessa O'Maleeny. Written principally by Michael To-ge O'Clery, born 1575, died 1615.	Compiled by Brian MacDermot, who died 1592.	Original lost. A compilation, made in English in 1627.
A.D. 1076. Murchadh, son of Flann Ua Maelsechlainn, of Tara during three days and three nights, was slain in the <i>cloitech</i> of Kells, by the son of the lord of Gaileanga.	A.D. 1076. Murchadh, son of Flann Ua Maeleachlainn, at the expiration of three days and three nights after his having assumed the supremacy of Tara, was treacherously killed in the Belfry (Cloithech) of Kells by the lord of Gaileanga, <i>i.e.</i> Amlaibh, the grandson of Maelan.	A.D. 1076. Murchadh, son of Flann Ua Maelsechlainn, King of Temhair (Tara), during the space of three nights, was slain in the <i>cloiteach</i> (belfry) of Cenannus (Kells), by the son of Maelan, King of Gaileanga.	A.D. 1073. Murrogh, son of Flann O'Meaghlin, the reigning king of Moate but three days and three nights, was killed by Awly, son of Moylan, prince of Gaileanga, in the borders of Leinster; he was killed in the steeple of Kells.
A.D. 1097. The <i>cloitech</i> (belfry) of Mainister, with its books and various treasures, was burnt.	A.D. 1097. The Cloithech (belfry) of Mainister, with its books and many treasures, was burnt.		
A.D. 1121. The <i>cloitech</i> (belfry) of Telagh Immayne (Tullamaine) in Ossraighe, split by a thunderbolt, from which a stone fell down killed a student in the church. . . . A storm happened on the 11th of December, which tore the Beannchopar, (or cap,) of the <i>cloitech</i> (belfry) of Ardnagh, and caused great destruction of woods over all Ireland.	A.D. 1121. A great wind storm happened in the December of this year, which knocked off the cap of the cloithech (belfry) of Ardmacha, and caused great destruction of woods throughout Ireland. The cloithech of Tealach n-Inmainne in Ossraighe was split by a thunderbolt, and a stone flew from the cloithech, which killed a student in the church.	A.D. 1121. The steeple (<i>cloitech</i>) of Telach-n Inmuine (Tullamaine) in Ossraighe was cleft by a thunderbolt, and a stone flew from it which killed a student in the church. A gale of wind occurred on the 11th of December which knocked off the cap of the steeple (<i>cloitech</i>) of Ardnagh, and caused a great destruction of trees throughout all Erin.	
	A.D. 1124. The finishing of the cloithech of Cluain-mic-Nois by Ua Maeleoin, successor of Ciaran.		
		A.D. 1128. The burning of Ath-truim (Trim) with its churches; and a great number of persons suffered martyrdom in them.	
	A.D. 1135. Lightning struck off the head of the cloithech of Cluain mic Nois, and pierced the cloithech of Ros Cre.		A.D. 1137. There was boisterous, tempestuous wind this year; by it fell down many trees, houses, turrets, steeples, and other things, and whirled them into the sea.
	A.D. 1147. A thunderbolt fell this year upon the cloithech of Daimhliag Chianain (<i>i.e.</i> Duleek), and knocked off its beannchobhar (<i>i.e.</i> cap).		
	A.D. 1156. Eochaidh Ua Cuinn, the chief master, was burned in the cloithech of Ferta.		A.D. 1153. Murtoth, son of Neale, was king of Ireland 14 years; he with his forces went to Finglas and gave the kingdom and government thereof and the province to Dermott Mc Murrough, for yielding him hostages of obedience and allegiance—they wasted and spoiled Ossory without respect of church or chapel.
			A.D. 1182. The steeple of Ardbreakan fell this year.
	A.D. 1171. The cloithech of Telach-aird was burned by Tighearnan Ua Ruairc with its full of people in it.		
	A.D. 1238. The cloithech of Enachduin was erected.	A.D. 1238. The belfry (<i>cloitech</i>) of Enachduin (An-naghdown, Co. Galway) was erected.	

KEY TO THE MAP.

IRISH NAME.	TRANSLATION.
ACHAIDH-BIORAIR .	Aghavuller.
Achaidh dá Eó . .	Aghadoe.
Achaidh-fobhair . .	Aghagower.
Achadh Ūr	Freshford.
Airgialla	Oriel.
Airthir Maighe . .	Armoey.
Antiores Maugdorni	District in Co. Monaghan.
Ara	Aranmore Isd. (Co. Donegal).
Ara airthir	Inishere.
Aramór	Arranmore (Co. Galway).
Ard-ferta	Ardfert.
Ard Brecaín	Ardbraccan.
Ard Ceannachte . .	In Louth.
Ard Macha	Armagh.
Ard Mór	Ardmore.
Ard rathain	Ardrahen.
Ard Phatraice . . .	Ard patrick.
Ard Uladh	Heights of Ulster (near Bangor).
Ath Truim	Trim.
Balla	Ballagh.
Baile beg	Ballybeg.
Baile Mhuirne . . .	Ballyvourney.
Banna	Bann.
Beannchor	Banagher.
Bearba	Barrow.
Beirre	Bearhaven.
Benn Edair	Howth.
Boinn	Boyne.
Boirce	Mourne (Co. Down).
Brigobhann	Brigoone.
Cahir Gel	Caher Gal.
Caiseal	Cashel.
Caisel Ban	Cashel bawn.
Campus Breg	Plain of East Meath.
Campus Eilni	Plain between the Bann and the Lee.
Carrigeen	Carrigeen.
Ceannanus	Kells.
Ceann-eich	Kinneth.
Charybdis Brecani .	Strait near Rathlin.
Cianacta	Keenaght.
Clarraige Luacra . .	Kerry.
Cill alaidh	Killala.
Cill Ausaille	Killossy.
Cill Beanain	Kilbannon.
Cill Chainnigh . . .	Kilkenny.
Cill Cuillen	Kilcullen.
Cill dara	Kildare.
Cill inghine Boeth .	Kilnaboy.
Cill Maelchedair . .	Kilmalkedar.
Cill mic Duach . . .	Killmacduach.
Cill mo Ceallock . .	Killmallock.
Cill Molaise	Lorum.
Cill Osnadha	Kellistown.

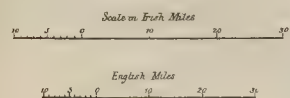
IRISH NAME.	TRANSLATION.
Cill Ree	Kilree.
Cill Ruaid	Kilroot.
Cill Sliebhe	Killeevy.
Cill Uiscean	Killeshin.
Cinel Conaill	In Donegal.
Cinel Eogain	In Londonderry.
Cinel Luigdec	In Kilmacrenan (Donegal).
Clara	Clare Island.
Cluain Cafa	Malin Head.
Cluain Caione	Clonkeen.
Cluain Dolcain . . .	Clondalkin.
Cluain Eos	Clones.
Cluain Ferta	Clonfert.
Cluain Iraid	Clonard.
Cluain mic Nois . . .	Clonmacnois.
Cluain mor	?
Cluain Uamha	Cloyne.
Cnoc Brendain . . .	Brandon Head.
Collum Bovis	Drumboe.
Conmaicne Mara . .	Connemara.
Corcach	Cork.
Corca Baiscinn . . .	S. E. of Clare.
Corca Laegde	In Munster.
Cruthini populi . . .	In Antrim and Down (Irish Picts)
Cualgne	Cooley in Louth.
Cuan Mod	Clew Bay.
Cuan Snarha Aigne .	Carlingford Bay.
Daeminis	Devenish.
Daimhinis	Devenish.
Daimhliag Cíanan . .	Duleek.
Dairbre	Valentia.
Daire Calgaigh . . .	Londonderry.
Dalriada	Antrim and Down.
Dealbhna	Iar Connaught.
Deilginis	Delgany.
Deise	Decies (Waterford).
Disert Diarmata . . .	Castledermot.
Disert Tola	Disert O'Dea.
Disert Oengusso . . .	Dysart.
Doire Calgaigh . . .	Londonderry.
Domnach Tortain . .	Donaghmore.
Dotair	Dodder.
Druim Cliabh	Drumcliff.
Druim Cliabh	Drumcliff.
Druim-in-easclainn .	Dromiskin.
Druim leathan	Drumlane.
Dubh Cathair	The black fort.
Dun Aengusa	Fort of Aengus.
Dun Conchobair . . .	Dun Conor.
Dun da Lethglais . .	Downpatrick.
Dun Eochail	Dun Ochill.
Dun Garbhain	Dungarvan.
Dun Geimhin	Dungiven.

Key to the Map.

IRISH NAME.	TRANSLATION.	IRISH NAME.	TRANSLATION.
Dun-na-mbeann . . .	Dunaman.	Machaire ratha . . .	Maghera.
Dun Sobairce . . .	Dunseverick.	Mainister Buite . . .	Monasterboice.
Eanach-duin . . .	Annaghdown.	Mide	Meath.
Eas Ruaid	Assaroe.	Miliuc	Mayo.
Eas ui Fhloinn . . .	Assylin.	Musraige Mitaine . .	Muskerry, in Cork.
Eile	Ely.	Nepotes Turtrei . . .	In Tyrone.
Eoir	Nore.	Nepotes fechureg . .	In Co. Tyrone.
Faoit	Whiddy.	Nua chongbhail . . .	Nohoval Daly.
Fearna	Ferns.	Ochter ard	Oughterdard.
Fer Ceall	In Meath.	Oentreß	Antrim.
Feargus	Fergus.	Osraighe	Ossory.
Ferta fer feic . . .	Slane.	Port Muirbuilg . . .	Ballycastle.
Fearta na Caireach .	Fertagh.	Rathain	Rahen.
Fionn Traig	Ventry.	Rath-both	Raphoe.
Firmanæ	Fermanagh.	Rathluraigh	Maghera (Co. Londonderry).
Gall-rós	Gallarus.	Rath mhíchil	Rathmichael.
Gaet Dobair	Gweedore.	Rath Tuaidh	Rattoo.
Glinnedalocha . . .	Glendalough.	Recla (Co. Dublin) .	Lambay.
Imleach	Emly.	Rechru	Rathlin Isd. (Co. Antrim).
Inber Domnann . . .	Malahide river.	Rinn Dubair	Waterford Point.
Inber Mor	Arklow.	Rina Seimíne	Island Magee.
Inber Naile	Inver Bay.	Ros Ailither	Rosscarbury.
Inis-an-ghoil	Inchagoile.	Ruis Coeman	Roscommon.
Inis bo finn	Inisbofin (Co. Galway).	Ruis Cré	Roscrea.
Inis Caein Dega . . .	Iniskeen.	Ruis fínglas	Rosenallis.
Inis Cathaig	Scattery.	Saighir Ciaran	Seirkieran.
Inis Celtair	Holy Island, Lough Derg.	Samdoir	Erne.
Inis Cleire	Cape Clear.	Senan	Shannon river.
Inis Clothrinn	Inis-cloran.	Sligeache	Sligo.
Inis Doimle	Little Island, Waterford.	Sinainn	Shannon.
Inis Eogain	Inishowen.	Siuir	Suir.
Inis Geide	Iniskea.	Sliabliac	Slieve League.
Inis Gloire	Inis Glora.	Sord Cholaimcille . .	Swords.
Inis Mac dara	Inis-Mac-dara.	Stagnum vituli	Belfast Lough.
Inis Medhon	Inismain.	Suc	Suck.
Inis Mic Nessain . . .	Ireland's eye.	Tamlaght finlagen . .	Tallagh finlagen.
Inis Muireadaig . . .	Inis-murray.	Tamlaght finlagen . .	Drumachose.
Inis Mochaoi	Mahee Island.	Teach Mochua	Timahoe.
Innise Mod	Inisgore.	Teach Tuæ	Teghadoe.
Inis Mochaoi	Mahee Island.	Telach Aird	Tullagherd.
Korkureti	Corkaree, in West Meath.	Telach nionmainne . .	Tullamain.
Labrann	Cashen river.	Tempull Croine	Iniskeragh (Co. Donegal).
Lann Abhaid	Rams island.	Tempull C.c.	Inis Keeragh.
Leim concúllain . . .	Loop Head.	Tir Bogaine	In Donegal.
Liath	Lea.	Tire da Loc	Iar Connaught.
Liphe	Liffey (river).	Tir Enda	In Donegal.
Loc Carman	Wexford Haven.	Tir Aeda	Tirhugh, in Donegal.
Loc da Caec	Waterford Harbour.	Toir Inis	Tory Island.
Loch Bricrenn	Loughbrickland.	Torbuirg	Benmore, or Fair Head.
Loch Cuan	Strangford Loch.	Trumaire	Trummery.
Loch Eachach	Loch Neagh.	Tuaim Greine	Tomgraney.
Loch feabail	Loch Foyle.	Tuaim da Gualann . .	Tuam.
Loch Rudraige	Dundrum Bay.	Tulach thirne	Tullaheerin.
Loch Sullige	Loch Swilly.	Turlach	Turlough.
Loch Lurgan	Galway Bay.	Ui Ceinsellaig	Hy Kinsela (Co. Wexford).
Loch Neatac	Lough Neagh.	Uaran Mór	Oranmore.
Luacros	Loughrusmore Bay.	Ui Fidgeinnté	In Co. Limerick.
Lughmagh	Louth.	Uladh	Ulster.
Luinneach	Limerick.	Umhall uacdrac	The Owles (Co. Mayo).
Lusca	Lusk.		

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE INVASIONS
OF THE NORTHMEN
In the 9th Century.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE INVASIONS
OF THE NORTHMEN
In the 9th Century.



A D 802 1st entered
mainland from
Tuis Murray to Roscommon.



Note • Ecclesiastical Towers
+ Churches attacked by the Norsemen.

Rodges Foster & Figgis 114 Grafton St. Dublin

V B. As these towers are first mentioned in the Annals of Ireland in the tenth century it would seem that they were erected for protection of the Churches in consequence of the first attacks made upon the churches in the ninth century



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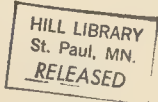
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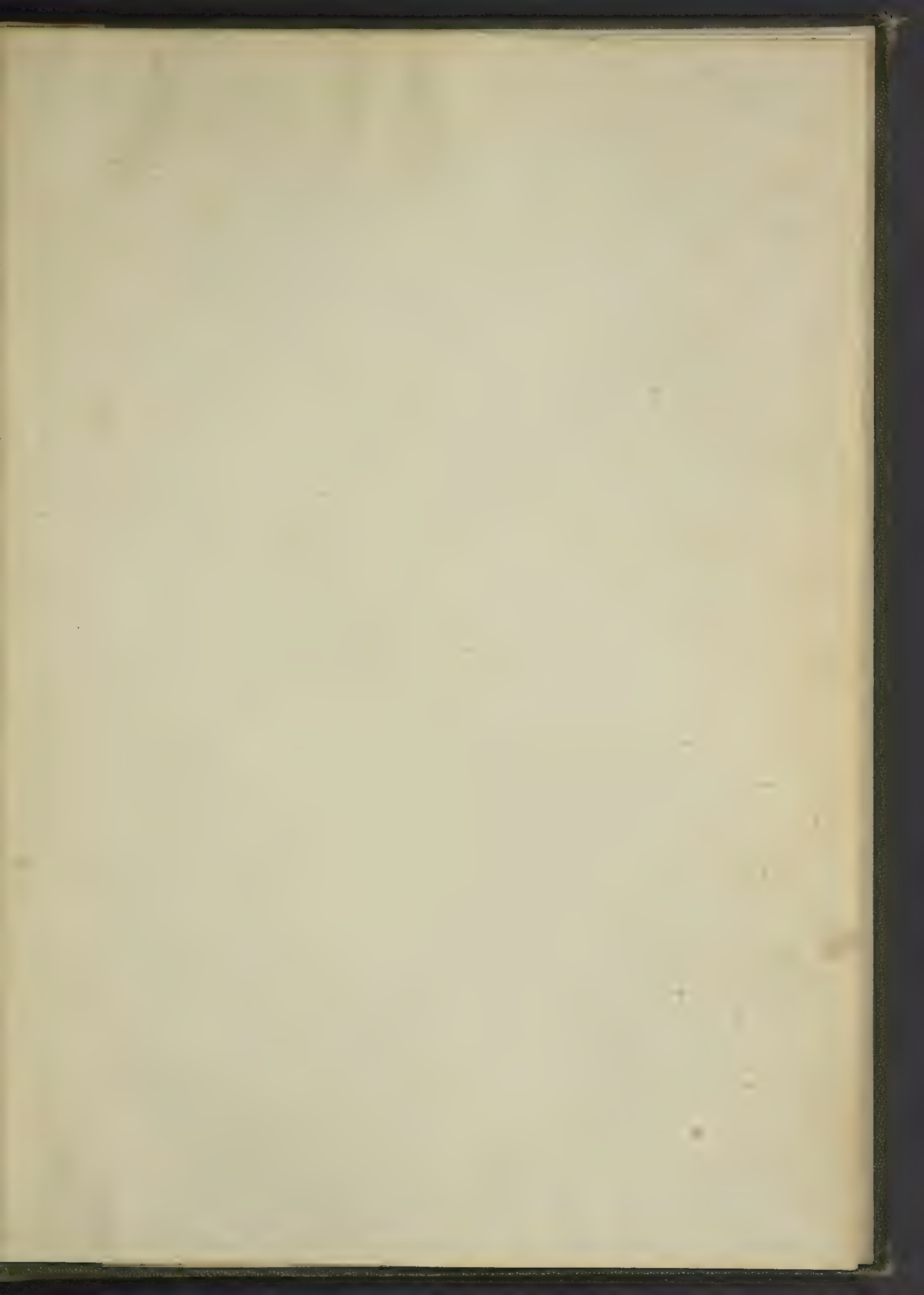
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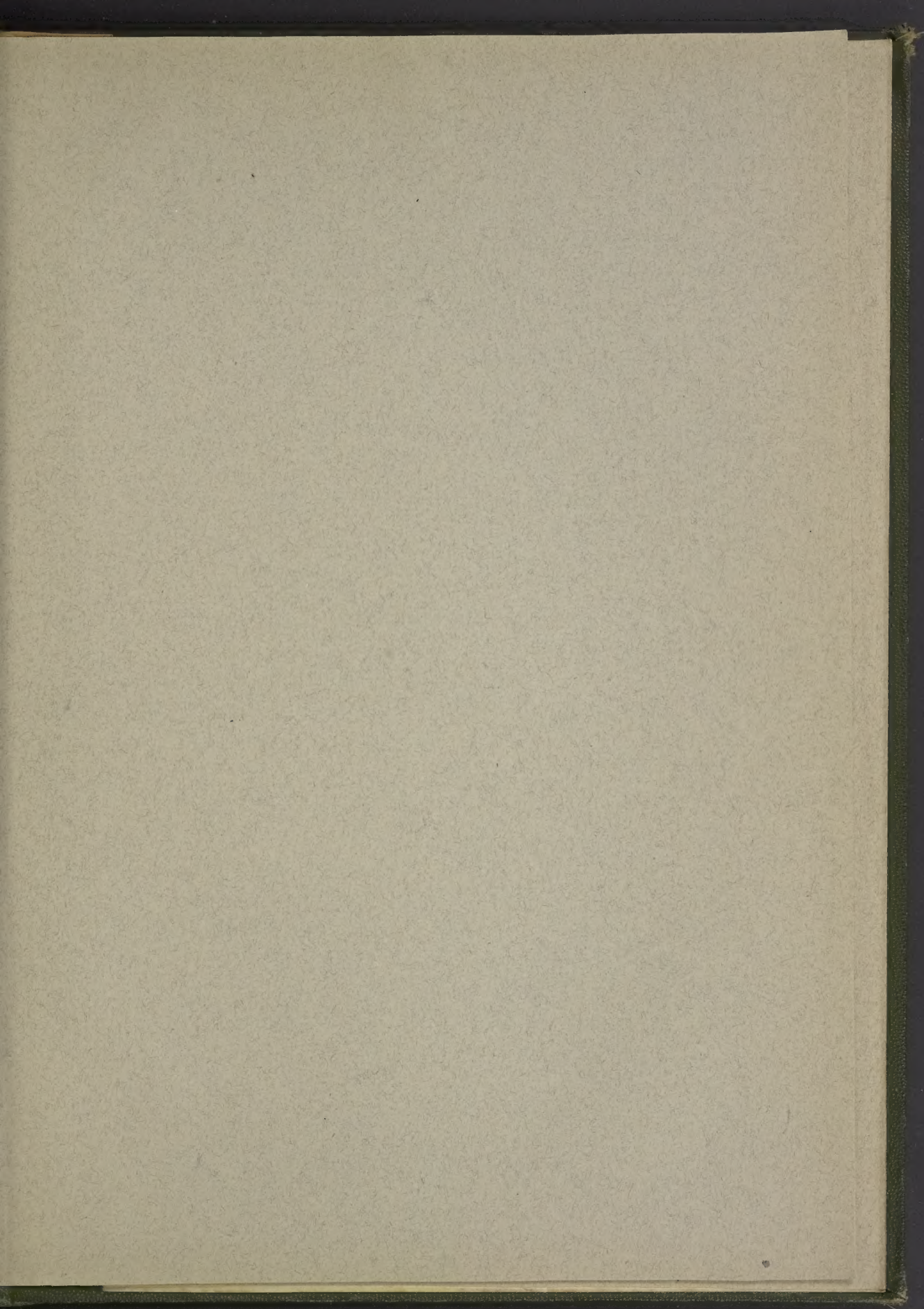
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